

Proceedings and Transactions **OF**

The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference,
(Hyderabad Session)

Osmania University.

DECEMBER, 1941

PART II

Presidential Addresses
of the
Various Sections.

Osmania University,
1946.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE ELEVENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD-DN.
December, 1941.

PART II.
CONTENTS

	PAGE
Group Photo of the Office-bearers & Sectional-Presidents	.. Fontis-piece.
Presidential Addresses of:	
1. Vedic Section by Dr. Manilal Patel	1
2. Iranian Section by Sardar Khan Bahadur Dastur Noshervan	12
3. Islamic Section by Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi	19
4. Prakrit Section by Dr. A. N. Upadhye	27
5. History Section by Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri	61
6. Archaeology Section by Prof. V. V. Mirashi	68
7. Philology Section by Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah	75
8. Ethnology Section by Mr. M. D. Raghavan	84
9. Technical Sciences Section by Khan Bahadur M. Sanaullah	98
10. Non-Local Languages Section by Dr. Baburam Saksena ..	104
11. Kannada Section by Sri. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar ..	116
12. Urdu Section by Dr. Abdus Sattar Siddiqi	121

Addresses printed at the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, and
 Published by Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Local Secretary, XI. A.I.O.C.,
 Osmania University, Hyderabad-Dn.

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Various Sections of the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference, Osmania University,
Hyderabad-Dn., -22nd December 1941



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VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY DR. MANILAL PATEL

Vedic Studies—their Present Position and Desiderata

Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first word this afternoon is one of deep gratitude to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me President of the Vedic Section of the present Session. The Chair I have the honour to occupy today has been adorned in the past by such veteran and worthy scholars as Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Mm. Pramathnath Tarkabhushan, the late Drs. Woolner and Zimmermann, Dr. Belvalkar, Dr. Lakshman Sarup and Shri Kshetreshchandra Chattopadhyaya. In point of scholarship and experience in research I am still too young, too *āḥpa-vid* and *ā-tapaska* to claim the company of my predecessors. It appears to me, therefore, that those who voted me to the chair wanted to indicate rather their appreciation of the services of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan with which it is my inestimable privilege to be associated since its inception, than their appraisal of the little work I have been able to do in the field of Vedic Studies. Be that as it may, I gratefully bow to their verdict and take the chair with profound homage to the *Pūrvācāryas*, and with confidence that their blessings and your good wishes will sufficiently shroud the personal inadequacy in the discharge of my presidential duties.

As I think of the manifold aspects of the Vedic Studies in India and abroad—the progress of researches made so far, the problems yet awaiting solution, the attempts that are being made to tackle them, the lines along which future investigations may fruitfully proceed—my mind is overwhelmed with the vastness of the subject so much so that I may well exclaim, in the words of the Vedic Ṛṣi Bharadvāja :

वि मे कर्णौ पतयतो वि चक्षुर्

वीर्यं ज्योतिर्हृदय आहितं यत् ।

वि मे मनश्चरति दूरभाषीः

किं स्विद्वक्ष्यामि किमु नू मनिष्ये ॥ (RV. VI, 10, 6).

“ My ears fly up, so (does) my eye, so (does) this light which is placed in (my) heart. My mind roams afar thinking : What shall I speak ? What shall I think ? ”

And the difficulty of dealing with this vast subject within the prescribed compass of a thirty-minute speech to be delivered before this great gathering of scholars with varied literary tastes and specializations almost baffles me beyond words.

What follows, therefore, has of necessity to take the form of a rapid retrospect of the progress of the Vedic research during the last two years and a brief indication of its immediate desiderata as they appear to me to be.

I

First of all, a *résumé* of the work done in the field of Vedic Studies since we met last at Tirupati.

Among the more important works that have of late enriched the Vedic literature are: (i) the second volume of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*—with *Ṛgarthadīpikā* of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, edited and annotated by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Lahore; (ii) the third Volume of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, published by the Vaidika Samshodhana Maṇḍala of the Tilak Maharashtra University, Poona; (iii) the two volumes of *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahākoṣa* prepared by Shastri Gajanan Shambhu Sadhale and published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, and (iv) the *Sāma-veda-Saṁhitā* with the commentaries of Mādhava and Bharatasvāmī, edited by Dr. C. K. Raja and published by the Adyar Library, Adyar; (v) a new edition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (M recension) with the commentaries of Sāyana and Harisvāmī, (Kalyan, 1940-41). Dr. Sarup's edition of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* supplies us with a most welcome link in the history of pre-Sāyaṇa-Vedic Exegesis in India. Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, the author of the commentary, it is interesting to note, offers a scientific explanation of some of the most obscure passages of the *Ṛgveda*, which often differs from the explanations given by other commentators. Dr. Sarup has enhanced the importance of the edition of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* by adding comparative foot-notes, in which all the different interpretations of the *Ṛgvedic* words, available from Indian sources, are collected at the first place of their respective occurrences. Let us hope, Dr. Sarup and the enterprising publishing firm, Motilal Benarasidas will see that the remaining four volumes are published without undue delay. The third volume of a new edition of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya published under the auspices of the Tilak Maharashtra University, confirms the reputation of the two preceding volumes. The editors have taken every possible care in critically examining the Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya on *Ṛgveda*, in the light of the additional manuscript-material discovered since the publication of the famous Oxford edition of the same. A study of the three volumes so far out enables us to testify to the scholarly devotion and discernment which the editors have brought to bear on their arduous task of editing the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary from a mass of manuscripts in Devanāgarī, Grantha and Malayalam characters. It is hardly necessary for me to add that the conclud-

ing volume is keenly awaited by all interested in the Vedic studies. The *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahākoṣa* is a sentence-concordance to 223 Upaniṣads, some of them at present being available only in a manuscript-form. More than fifty years have elapsed since the publication of Col. Jacob's well-known *Upaniṣad-Vākya Koṣa* which covered 46 Upaniṣads only and which is now long out of print. The veteran Sadhale Shastri, in spite of his having crossed over the age of the proverbial three scores and ten, has spared no pains in making the *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahākoṣa*, as complete as humanly possible, so that it may be of the greatest help in tracing the sources of the Upaniṣadic quotations now lying scattered in the vast philosophical literature of India. It is to be hoped that an alphabetical index of important words and phrases will be added either to the second edition of the *Mahākoṣa* or published some day as a sequel to the same. The two Sāmaveda Commentaries by Mādhava and Bharatasvāmi form an additional aid to our understanding of this Veda from the traditional point of view. The Kalyan edition of the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* will further facilitate the study of this important *Brāhmaṇa*.

There have also appeared several papers purporting to study the Vedic texts from the mythological, cosmological, grammatical, exegetical, lexicographical, historical, sociological, and astronomical points of view. In a series of essays, Dr. Dandekar has pursued the study of the Vedic mythology very vigorously. His views may be briefly summarised as follows:—(i) Viṣṇu, originally meaning 'Flier', was primarily regarded as a bird in certain culture-groups, which accounts for his close association with vegetation ritual, as a fertility god witness, for example his epithet विष्विद्वि "changing phallus". He was received in the Vedic pantheon only in his sun-bird aspect; he became supreme just when the popular religion reasserted itself.¹ (ii) Savitr is not the creation of Vedic poets but can be traced back to the pre-Vedic Indo-European mythology; the god is also found represented pictorially in the Nordic rock-paintings of the ancient bronze-age. Savitr, moreover, cannot be identified with Sūrya; he is an aspect of Varuṇa.² (iii) In the Ṛgvedic pantheon, Varuṇa is essentially a ruler of the moral and cosmic laws. There is no support from the Ṛgvedic hymns to enable one to associate Varuṇa primarily with any phenomenon of nature, such as sky, moon, winter or ocean. The epithet 'Asura' implies his māyā—the mysterious occult power which is exercised by him in the creation of the universe. The conception of bondage-cosmic and ethical—is of primary importance in the Varuṇa-Rta-religion. Spiritual supremacy forms the principal conception of Varuṇa's nature, which has later developed metaphysically into the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the mystic Brahman. His connection with water as found in the Ṛgveda has made him in the Purāṇas the presiding deity of waters.³

1 *Festschrift Kane* (1941).

2 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (ABORI)* XX, iii-iv

3 *ABORI*, XXI, iii-iv.

In a very interesting article entitled "Birth of the Gods" Dr. Batakrisna Ghosh opposes the purely phenomenological interpretation of the Vedic deities since the natural phenomena alone cannot account for the constitution of the Vedic pantheon. A variety of conceptions originating within or coming from outside, must have therefore combined to act upon the minds of the Vedic Rsis in their formation of the idea of a god. Dr. Ghosh analyses in this religio-philological study the word *asura* and the names of the Vedic gods, Varuṇa, Mitra and Indra, and shows that the ideas associated with these names as found in the Veda came to be conceived from outside.⁴

Prof. W. Norman Brown has tried to reconstruct the Ṛgvedic equivalent for hell by piecing together bits of scattered information and allusions, and through an analytical study of the Ṛgvedic hymns VII-104 and X-129 he gives us a general idea about the nature of Vedic hell, its function and its place in the Vedic cosmos⁵. Shri S. C. Venkateshvaran, in his paper on the 'Cosmic house in the Ṛgveda' advances the view that the world-genesis is described in the Ṛgveda poetically as an outcome of mechanical production, wherein he sees the earliest literary references to the science of architecture.⁶

Dr. V. M. Apte has examined the Ṛgvedic mantras in their ritual settings in the Gṛhyasūtras and come to the conclusion that the rubrication of the Ṛgvedic mantras in the ritual literature is not as arbitrary as is often supposed; there are well-defined principles under the citation and liturgical employment of the Ṛgvedic mantras in the Gṛhyasūtras.⁷ And the *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya Sūtra* has been subjected by Dr. Apte to a thorough investigation with special reference to a textual criticism thereof and the sources and interpretation of the non-Ṛgvedic Mantras rubricated therein.⁸ Mention may also be made of Devasvāmī's Commentary on the *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya Sūtra*, which is being serially published in the *Brahmavidyā*.⁹ In an essay entitled "the Ninth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda", I have made a detailed study of the sacramental Soma-preparation according to the Ṛgvedic ritual, as reflected in the Pavamāna-hymns.¹⁰ The liturgical mantras of the Yajurveda relating to the horse-sacrifice have been analysed and studied in comparison with their occurrences in different schools and saṁhitās by Dr. Shri Krishna Bhawe in his dissertation entitled *Die Yajus des Āśvamedha*.

A number of papers of linguistic and grammatical importance have also appeared during the last two years. The importance of the study of the

⁴ *Indian Culture* vii-i.

⁵ *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc.* 61-62.

⁶ *Bullet. of the Deccan Coll. Res. Inst.* BDCRI, II, iii-iv.

⁷ BDCRI, I, ii-iv.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Vol. V.

¹⁰ *Bhāratīya Vidyā* I, ii II, I.

Ṛgveda Padapāṭha and that of the accent has been shown anew by Shri P. K. Narayan Pillai¹¹ and Shri Sehgal¹² respectively. Shri N. Sivarama Sastry has discussed the nature of *svarita* (the Vedic circumflex), as found in the accounts of the Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini and as revealed from its pronunciation in the present-day Vedic recitations in Southern India.¹³

I may also mention that the Padapāṭha of the Sixth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda has been examined by me in a paper submitted to the last All-India Oriental Conference. Dr. Siddhesvar Varma has discovered the use of Sanskrit ardhama as a preposition meaning 'near' in the language of the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁴ A few hitherto undetected haplogogies in Old-Indo-Aryan (RV. V. 2, 3-4; VI, 19, 5; LX, 82, 4, and X, 3, 4) have been dealt with by me.¹⁵ In a detailed discussion of the sense of *mahāh* in *mahō rāyē* and other passages, Dr. Apte has tried to establish that "Mahah" is the genitive of the substance "Mah", which he translates as "luminous space" "illuminated sky" or "the light that overspreads and is co-extensive with the sky"¹⁶. Dr. Lakshman Sarup has pointed out some cases of faulty interpretation of the Ṛgveda in the Nirukta and thus warned us against accepting Yāska as an infallible guide in understanding the Ṛgveda.¹⁷ Prof. Louis Renou has published a study of the rise of compounds out of paratactical constructions and the so-called split compounds in the old-Indo-Aryan.¹⁸ A study of the relationship between the Pāṇinian school and the Prātiśākhya has led Shri Madhav Krishna Sharma to the conclusion that Kātyāyana cannot be accepted as the author of *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya* though he probably belonged to the Vājasaneyī Sākhā.¹⁹

As regards the Prātiśākhya, Dr. Suryakanta has shown that there was an interpolation in the available Prātiśākhya, and that there has been a mixture of two types of Prātiśākhya, which he calls "A", and "B" i. e. nomenclative, and prescriptive. This assumption of his is strengthened by the text of the Sāma Pariśiṣṭa which he has edited for the first time.²⁰

The individual hymns or stanzas that have been discussed and translated of late are: RV. V, 78 by Prof. Velankar,²¹ RV. VII, 86 by Shri Karmarkar,²² RV. X, 5 by me.²³ Tait. Āraṇy. I, 1, 3 and Maitr. Saṁh. IV, 12, 2 by Dr.

11 BDCRI, II, iii-iv.

12 Poona Orientalist, VI, i-ii.

13 Bulletin of Phonetic Studies, No. 1.

14 Festschrift Kane.

15 Ibid.

16 BDCRI II, iii-iv.

17 Woolner Commemoration Volume (1940)

18 New Indian Antiquary (NIA) III, i-iii.

19 Bhāratīya Vidyā.

20 Woolner Comm. Vol.

21 Festschrift Kane.

22 ABORI XXII. i-ii.

23 Woolner Comm. Vol.

Aryendra Sharma²⁴. To arrive at the true meaning of the R̥gvedic stanzas through an analysis of their rhetorical aspects, Prof. Velankar has translated and annotated the similes of the Atris as available in the fifth Maṇḍala²⁵. We are also thankful to Prof. Velankar for giving us excellent annotated translations of the Indra-hymns from several Maṇḍalas. As an advance-specimen of an annotated translation of the sixth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda, I have recently published in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bhāradvāja's hymns to Agni. (VI, 1-16).²⁶

Of historical interest, not much has been published in the Vedic field. I must however mention that the late Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha raised a query as to the authenticity of the Aryan invasion of India. He dismissed the nasal-index argument as having no scientific, commonsense or logical basis. And as regards the Sapta-Sindhu argument, he said that it only proved that the people who sang the hymns, lived in the land of the five or seven rivers and nothing beyond that²⁷. Referring to the recent attempts at determining the age of the R̥gveda, Prof. Keith has, in a lengthy article, asserted that the effort to fix the date of the Aryans' entrance in India, based on evidences from Hittite records lacks probative force, that arguments from the language and extra-Indian analogies as found in Iranian connections are quite unsatisfactory since a comparison with the Avesta does not give any net result, that arguments from the history of literature are deficient of cogent criteria and that neither geography nor astronomy offers any real help. Again, to employ Purāṇic or Epic evidence for this purpose is according to Prof. Keith idle and to obtain any aid from the comparison of Sanskrit with the Hittite is impossible. Thus the views of Kretschmer, Przyluski, Scheftelowitz, Wüst, Mironov, Hillebrandt, Winternitz and others are criticized by Prof. Keith with his usual vigour and argumentative power, though unfortunately not so constructively²⁸. Shri Ranjitsingh Satyasrayi has attempted to give a connected account of the sage Aṅgiras and his family as can be gleaned from the Vedic and Purāṇic texts.²⁹ Shri Kshetreshchandra Chattopadhyaya has established that *Kikaṭṣu* in RV. III, 53, 14 means Kurukṣetra notwithstanding the later identification of Kikaṭa with Magadha or Aṅga. This RV. passage, according to him, supplies us with the first clear reference to the contact of the expanding Aryans with the non-Aryans³⁰.

In a series of articles Dr. Iravati Karve has studied the kinship usages and the family organisation as can be understood from the hymns of the

²⁴ D. V.

²⁵ *Journal of the Bombay Br. of the Royal As. Soc.* Vol. 16.

²⁶ *Bhāratīya Vidyā* II, i, ii, III, i, ii.

²⁷ *Ācārya Puṣpāṅga* (1940).

²⁸ *Woolner Comm.* Vol.

²⁹ *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.* XXVI, 1.

³⁰ *KC.*

Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda³¹. Shri B. S. Upadhyaya has now published his various articles on the position of women in the Ṛgvedic times in a book-form³² and Shri J. B. Chaudhari has dealt with the position of the daughter³³ and of wives other than the first in the Vedic ritual³⁴. The position of widows in ancient India has also been discussed by Shri N. K. Dutt. According to Dr. Apte caste was not formulated in the Ṛgvedic age. The Ṛgvedic Aryans came already with the fourfold division into India, and only a hardening of caste distinctions is all that happened between the early and late periods of the Ṛgveda. Not being a student of astronomy, I have been unfortunately unable to follow the various articles trying to study the Vedic mythology from an astronomical stand-point by Shri Raja Rao,³⁵ Fatah Singh,³⁶ Dr. Samashastri³⁷ and Shri P. C. Sengupta³⁸.

There also have appeared several papers of miscellaneous character, for instance, Dr. Apte has traced and discussed 19 Ṛgvedic citations in the Mahābhārata.³⁹ Dr. Anand K. Coomaraswamy, in a study of the deeper significance of *manas*, "intellect" from its occurrences in Vedic literature, advances a plea for approaching Vedic texts with faith, so as to find out the deeper meaning behind the Vedic words which are mere symbols; the approach must be, in other words, spiritual rather than humanistic.⁴⁰ On the other hand Dr. Dandekar has suggested that *manas* in the Veda, like *citta* of the Yoga and Buddhism was regarded as a form of material substance which underwent mechanical and dynamic modifications, thereby causing several so-called psychical phenomena. Thus Somatism of the later Indian Psychology might be traced back to the conception of *manas* in the Vedic literature.⁴¹ Prof. P. K. Gode has just announced the finding of a rare Ms. of the वेदभाष्यसार of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita.

The period under review has also seen a number of articles throwing light on certain Upaniṣadic problems, Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has tried to establish the significance of the Asparśa-Yoga in the Māṇḍukya Kārikā (IV, 2) of Gauḍapāda and come to the conclusion that the origin of the term is Buddhistic,⁴² while Shri Narendranath Sen Gupta has dealt with

31 ABORI XX, iii-iv.

32 Benares, (1941).

33 NIA, III, xii.

34 Indian Historical Quarterly XVII No. 2.

35 The Poona Orientalist VI, i-ii.

36 Ind. Hist. Quart. XVI, No. 4; The Poona Orientalist (Oct. 1939, Jan. 1940),
Journ. of Benares Hindu Uni. V, 1.

37 Eclipse (1940).

38 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

39 Festschrift Kane.

40 Woolner Comm. Vol.

41 Indian Hist. Quarterly XVII No. 1.

42 Woolner Comm. Vol.

the historical development of the 'Asparśa-Yoga' or "the practice of detachment in spiritual life" ⁴³. We have also had some scholastic remarks on the Mahāvākya-Tattvamasi and some philosophical notes on Chāndogya and Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣads from the respective pens of Dr. Otto Strauss ⁴⁴ and Carpani. ⁴⁵ Dr. P. M. Modi has discussed a few Śruti from the earlier metrica Upaniṣads concerning the personal and impersonal aspects of Brahman. Shri Baburam Saksena has interpreted the Isopanīṣadic term 'Sambhūti' as "being, birth, existence" and 'Asambhūti' its opposite. ⁴⁷ And the last but not the least, we have now an excellent translation of the *Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads* by Shri T. R. Srinivas Ayyangar and Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri. ⁴⁸

It will thus be seen that an all-round progress in the field of Vedic studies has been happily maintained during the period intervening between the tenth and eleventh sessions of our Conference. On behalf of you all, I would take this opportunity of expressing our gratefulness to all those who are busy extending the frontiers of our knowledge of the Vedic lore and literature. This is not to say that I have been able to agree with them all in their various arguments and conclusions. A detailed and critical examination of so many studies would need far more space and time than allowed to me at the moment.

II

With the close of this *résumé* which is, I admit, too brief to do justice to my fellow-workers in the field and yet perhaps too long for the time and space at my disposal, I must immediately come to the present desiderata of the Vedic studies as I conceive them to be.

(i) *Translation of the R̥gveda.*

First of all—the R̥gveda; and here our first desideratum is a complete and coherent translation thereof in the light of the latest researches. About two years ago, in a paper entitled "The interpretation of the R̥gveda" I had stressed the necessity of a new translation of the R̥gveda which should be scientific, accurate and justified in the comprehensive light of the results of (a) the traditional interpretations, (b) the liturgy and classical Indian thought, (c) Vedic grammar and syntax, (d) comparative philology and (e) comparative religion. I had also announced then of my attempt to meet this long-standing need. Today, I am grateful to God to be able to tell you that my annotated translation of the VI Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda is passing through the press and that whatever time and energy I can spare in the midst of my

⁴³ *Journal of the United Provinces Hist. Society* XIII, ii.

⁴⁴ Woolner Comm. Vol.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Indian Hist. Quarterly* XXVII No. 2.

⁴⁷ Woolner Comm. Vol.

⁴⁸ *Adyar Library, Adyar, (1941).*

academic and administrative duties are being devoted to this self-chosen undertaking of mine. God willing, within the next four or five years I shall endeavour to bring this task to a successful completion. A R̥gvedic Dictionary is contemplated by me as a sequel to this complete translation which may well replace Grassmann's *Wörterbuch des Rigveda*.

The textual study of the R̥gveda, of course, bristles with many a difficulty, since there are yet certain obscurities in spite of a hundred years' research in Vedic philology along the modern scientific lines. I have prepared a list of all the passages, maṇḍala by maṇḍala, which are still unintelligible to me, and I propose to discuss them in a series of articles in the near future.

(ii) *Re-Grouping of the R̥gvedic Hymns.*

It has been long recognised that the R̥gveda-Saṁhitā in its present form contains hymns composed at different periods of time. The present grouping of the hymns in the Maṇḍalas is more or less formal in the sense that the original redactors arranged the family-groups according to the increasing number of the hymns in each of these Books, with the proviso that within each family-group the Agni-hymns came first, then the Indra hymns, then the Viśve-Devā hymns (if there were any), and after them hymns to the other deities in due order, and with the further proviso that within each Devatā-sub-group the hymns were arranged according to the diminishing number of the stanzas containing them. Shri Kshetreshchandra Chattopadhyaya has already drawn our attention to the necessity of carefully determining the relative ages of the different hymns and, in some cases also of different verses. Of late this very problem has been exercising the mind of Shri K. M. Munshi who would take those hymns which refer to Dāśarājña battle as a contemporary event and extol Indra's exploits in the most glorifying terms, as the starting point for the assumption that the Vedic Aryans were Indra-worshippers at the time of that battle. Hence those hymns which would, directly or indirectly, bear on Indra's predominant position in the Vedic pantheon must be studied simultaneously with a view to ascertaining their age of compilation. Thus the groups of the hymns addressed to deities who were relatively older than Indra may be studied and their chronological position determined. Can we regroup the R̥gvedic hymns in this manner as falling into, say, four strata, viz., Indra, Indra-Varuṇa, Varuṇa and Dyāvā-Prithivī, each one older than the succeeding stratum? I am sorry to put this problem in such a vague manner but since we are working on it under the scholarly guidance of Shri K. M. Munshi, I cannot at this moment foresee the result of our investigation.

(iii) *Study of other Vedic Texts.*

Although most of the important later Vedic texts have been translated and studied, there remain yet a few, awaiting our immediate attention. For example, the *Maitrāyaṇīya* and the *Kāṭhaka* Saṁhitās should be annotated and translated without further delay. I am glad to announce that one of my

students, Shri Jayant Raval, has taken up the study and translation of the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*.

(iv) The exact relationship of the Indus valley civilization and the culture reflected in the Vedic literature is yet to be determined. Whether the former was pre-Vedic, or post-Vedic, or contemporaneous with the latter is a matter of controversy among the specialists. Perhaps this controversy is likely to rage over the scholarly circles so long as we have not been able to discover any bilingual seals enabling us to decipher the Mohan-jo-daro script beyond any doubt or dispute. A comparative study of the older Purāṇas and the Vedic literature with a view to determining the course of the pre-Vedic and the post-Vedic tradition and history is also one of the needs of the hour.

(v) A systematic and upto-date presentation of the linguistic phenomena, vocabulary, phrases, ideas and mythological allusions which are common between the Vedas and the Avesta will, I am sure, be most welcome to the students of both these literatures. It is time some one with the expert knowledge of the Vedic as well as the Avestan language and thought should take it up.

(vi) The need of bringing Renou's "Bibliographie Vedique" and Macdonell-Keith's "Vedic Index" upto-date is, as you all know, supreme at the moment.

(vii) We do hope that Debrunner is making satisfactory progress in carrying forward the remaining volumes of the *Altindische Grammatik*, Wackernagel's masterly lebens-arbeit, to completion, but an English translation, even in an abridged form is surely to be of the greatest assistance to those students of linguistics and Vedic philology who are not yet conversant with the German language.

(viii) Unfortunately we do not know how far Wüst has proceeded with his work on a comparative and etymological dictionary of the old Indo-Aryan. The urgent necessity of preparing some such work receives an additional stress in view of Dr. Örtel's practical proposal for preliminary work on a new Sanskrit dictionary⁴⁹ and Dr. Katre's recent highly suggestive article entitled "On a Thesaurus Linguac Sanskritac".⁵⁰

These then are some of the desiderata of the Vedic studies towards the fulfilment of which we may well direct our labours, constructively, that is to say, along the well-established scientific lines. And it is of utmost importance that our efforts are animated by a determination that we will through out adhere to truth and nothing but the truth.

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Friends, it is time I should be closing this insignificant speech of mine and yet I cannot resist the temptation of adding a word or two if only to share

49 Woolner Comm., Vol.

50 NIA IV, vii.

with you a thought that is uppermost in my mind. Most of us who are assembled here have chosen a particular branch of studies to which we devote the best years of our life. By themselves, textual, linguistic, philological, historical studies are, no doubt, worthy of our utmost endeavour, but can we not expect something more from these pursuits? Should they not give us the light that would illuminate the dark recesses of our inmost being? Speaking as a Vedist I do feel that the spiritual insight of our ancient R̥sis recognized the inner harmony between life and the living words which issued forth from their illuminated consciousness. For them the literary tradition was *ṛtasya dhārā* "a stream of Rightcousness", and they visualized immortality in scholarship and learning, *Amṛtam tu vidyā*. The question, then, faces us, the moderns: *Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema*, "To which deity shall we offer our oblations",—oblations viz., of our scholarship and learning? In these tragic times we cannot but recall that our ancient sages realized that humanity is one in spirit, and prayed and lived for the universal peace. Let us contribute our humble mite towards the realization of that Vedic prayer which is:

पृथिवी शान्तिरन्तरिक्षं शान्तिर्यौः शान्तिर्गणः शान्तिरपोभवयः शान्तिर्वनस्पतयः शान्तिर्विष्णवे मे देवाः
शान्तिः सर्वे मे देवाः शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिभिः । ताभिः शान्तिभिः सर्वशान्तिभिः शमयामोहं यदिह
धोरं यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं तच्छान्तं तच्छिवं सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः ॥

IRANIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY SARDAR KHAN BAHADUR DASTUR NOSHERWAN DASTUR KAIKOBAD, J.P.
(HIGH PRIEST OF THE PARSIS IN DECCAN & MALVA).

God's Message through Language.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have been honoured by a request from the President of the Conference to preside over the Iranian Section of the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference. With some diffidence, I have accepted the responsibility. I have done so not because I desire publicity for my essay but because I value the association with the learned scholars and distinguished essayists, who are here and have contributed some very interesting essays. I feel delighted to mention the fact that the birth of All India Oriental Conference took place in Poona, in 1919, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute was the nucleus of this movement. My forefathers belonged to Poona and were Oriental Scholars, and this being my birth place I feel happy at the thought that I am asked to preside at this function. I also feel gratified, as you all delegates must be, that we are today the most honoured guests of our Patron, H. E. H. Lieut: Col. Sipahsalar Asaf Jah, Muzaffar-ul-Mulk Walmamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizamud Dawlah Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh-Jung Sultan-ul-ulum, G. C. S. I., G. B. E. The whole assembly is grateful to H. E. H. the Nizam for his gracious patronage and the most marvellous hospitality shown to them. H. E. H. is a learned and a highly intellectual ruler. He is, I must say without exaggeration, a poet. You all know that poets are born not made. "Poeta Nascitur non fit". H. E. H. has spent crores of Rupees for education and reforms in the Hyderabad State. He is one of the most prominent and capable rulers India possesses. The Osmania University is a living monument of his educational activities. Cultured and highly educated professors are engaged there. I feel highly honoured to state that many of His Exalted Highness's provinces are under my ecclesiastical jurisdiction and I have the honour to be the High Priest there. All the Parsis in those provinces are proud to possess such a kind and enlightened ruler. H. E. H. has gained the love and respect of his subjects. He has headed a series of War Efforts which have done credit to the Hyderabad State. His subjects are happy and the chief reason for the happy state of affairs is the level-headedness and the wise statesmanship of H. E. H., whose duty it is to guide Hyderabad destinies. He is Britain's ally in the true sense

of the term. Our prayer is "May the Almighty shower His Choicest Blessings on H. E. H. and his Royal Family".

“ विद्वत्त्वं च नृपत्वं च नैव तुल्यं कदाचन ।

स्वदेशे पूज्यते राजा विद्वान् सर्वत्र पूज्यते ॥ १ ॥

The contrast between a King and a learned man is that a King is respected only in his own country whereas a learned man is respected everywhere. H. E. H. the Nizam is both a King and a scholar and hence receives universal homage and respect.

چم بر خویش و بر دوده و کشورش	برو آفرین باد و بر لشکرش
نشستش هم بر سر گنج باد	همیشہ تن شاه پیرنج باد !
همیدون سپه دار او شاد باد	نشستش هم بر سر گنج باد
چنین تا بپایست گردون سپهر	دانش روشن و گنج آباد باد
دوشتم بر ایرانها نام خویش	ز گیتی مبیناد جز کام خویش

May the blessings of God be on him and on his army, may the blessings be equally on him, on his race and on his land. May the king's body be free from ailments, may he ever sit on the top of treasures, may his officers be ever happy and may his soul be ever enlightened and his treasure ever prosperous. May such a happy state continue to exist for ever, and may God never take away his love and regard from the dynasty. From father to father, and son to son, may the generations be always kingly and victorious. May he never experience in this world anything but the fulfilment of his desires and may he have his auspicious name engraved on palaces.

I. Language is God's gift and he that understands the beauty of language is supposed to have mastered Nature's work. It is Nature's production, solely reserved for human beings. God speaks inwardly to man, and man with humility speaks to God and offers prayers to Him in his own language. The Science of Language is in existence since the Creation of the World but it was not rightly understood in the primitive age. Slowly this Science advanced and people became civilized and educated. From that time onwards, this Science of Language has made a gradual and steady progress. Language has her own marvels and she, slowly but surely, unveils herself to the intelligent. In this world of Science we are students, some of high calibre and some of moderate ability, some highly intelligent and some quite dull, but one and all understand language as it is spoken in the words of their mother-tongue. This art is acquired on the very lap of the mother. Every word has a meaning, every word is a sermon from God. We have given a suitable name to the Science of Language, and we hear it spoken of as comparative philology, scientific etymology, phonology, or glossology. This is one very gigantic, deeply rooted, monstrous tree, with innumerable branches, intertwined with one another, but each alike to the other, developed

from one root. From this one tree have sprung many other trees and offshoots, bearing noble fruits in the form of Religions. But there is one Seer of Truth, who is the Lord of the great Universe, worshipped, prayed to and offered sacrifices by innumerable tribes and people, following their own Prophets and their own gods. The followers of Zoroaster have their own language and they are taught to worship one God known as AHURA MAZDA or MAZDA AHURA, the most bountiful Lord. Mohmedans' Mohommed, the Jews' Moses, the Christians' Jesus Christ, the Chinamen's Confucious, Lao-Tze, Buddhists' Buddha and Hindus' Krishna or Rama proclaim the Unity of God in their own language. Whether one is a Parsi or a Mohamedan or a Jew or a Christian or a Hindu, there is but one Saviour and they are all born of that one Great Father, who is in Heaven and their language of expressing their thoughts comes from the one great tree of languages, with different accents, gestures, etymology and pronunciation.

خدا یا جهان پادشاهی تراست ز ما خدمت آید خدای تراست

Oh God, the sovereignty of the world is Thine. Service comes from us, the mastership is Thine.

All Orientalists and Linguists are of opinion that the Origin of Language, that is, the Science of Language and its growth are identical and have had their stages, such as the Empirical stage, the Classification stage and the Genealogical stage of classification of various languages with their comparative grammars. We are still in ignorance for we mix up the material with the spiritual. We are to face and understand subjects such as Electricity, Mass, Motion, Force, Energy etc. These are classified as material sciences and they are measurable, calculable and capable of precise definition, unlike the spiritual, which is intimately connected with Religion and is practically inconceivable. They appear to us quite different but, on a closer examination, we find that both are real because they belong to the same Universe. Religion has played a great part in the history of mankind and continues to play the same at the present time. Science is born of experience whereas Language is inborn in man.

II. Let us now step on the threshold of Oriental Languages and Indo-Iranian Languages. It is an acknowledged fact that in the pre historic era, there was a period known as the Indo-Iranian period, when the Aryans of India and the Iranians of Persia lived together in Central Asia. Dr. Mills Says, "The Aryan Indians were once the Aryan Iranians". They were brothers in different lands. The affinity of the oldest form of the Avestan Language, when compared to the Dialect of Vedas, is so markedly alike in syntax, vocabulary, diction, metre etc., that by simply applying the phonetic laws, the whole of the Avestan Stanzas and Chapters can be translated, word for word, into Vedic. They are known as sister languages.

III. The Sanskrit Language is the oldest and the primitive language from which we trace the roots and derivations of other sister languages.

Avesta language is written in Aryan Dialect. We are told that the real founder of Avestan Philology was Anquetil Du Perron, a distinguished scholar. In the year 1754, he came to India and made researches and translations. He obtained all the necessary informations from the learned Dasturs of that time. Another eminent scholar was Eugene Burnouf, the professor of Sanskrit, at the College De France, at Paris. To him we are indebted for the discovery of the rudiments of the Avesta Grammar. Also, thanks to the efforts of Grotefeud, Burnouf, Letssen and Rawlinson, the rock inscriptions of Persia were deciphered and made known to the world, specially the Cuneiform inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes the First, Darius the Second, Artaxerxes Moemon and Artaxerxes Ochus. I had the good fortune to visit Persia to attend the World Conference of Firdausi's Millenium Celebrations and, at that time, saw the broken inscriptions engraved on the monument of Cyrus in the Murghab and also saw them on the ruins of Persepolis. Those unknown inscriptions were deciphered, with great difficulty, and with the knowledge of other languages, such as Sanskrit, Hebrew, Aramaic, Babylonian, their roots were traced. In my opinion, to trace the inscriptions, Grimm's Law must be applied, though some may differ, in this view, from me. A specimen of the Cuneiform inscription at Behishtoon is given in order to show the striking similarity between the two languages :—

VASNA AHURAMAZDAHA ADAM KHSHAYATHIYA AMIY. AHURAMAZDA KHSHATHRAM MANA FRABARAH. THAITIY IIMA DAHYAVA TYA MANA PATIYAISHA. VASNA AHURAMAZDAH ADAMSTAN KHSHAYATHIYA AHAM FRAHARVAM DAHYAVAH.

There is a sentence reading thus :—

“Through the blessings and grace of Ahura Mazda, I (Darius) am king. Ahura Mazda made me the king and gave me the kingdom”.

IV. In the Aryan languages, their peculiarity consists in three points. 1. Guttural. 2. Dental. 3. Labial. The aspirated letters generally exist in Sanskrit. Sanskrit literature is the oldest and Sanskrit language was spoken in India, thousands of years ago, say some centuries before the time of Solomon. The religious books of the Hindus are written in Sanskrit and are known as Rig Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda and Atharva Veda. It is rather very curious that some of the Vedic Mantras are the same as Avestan Mantras. Great similarity is observed in the Sanskrit of the Vedas and the Avesta of the Gathas. The beauty and glory of both these ancient languages are admitted by all savants. We read in Sanskrit :—

यावत् रथास्यन्ति गिरयः सारितश्च महीतले
तावद् ऋग्वेदमहिमा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥

“As long as the mountains and rivers are on the face of the earth, so long will the Glory of Rig Veda continue among the people”.

With the help of Sanskrit and with the help of comparative philology, the old dialect of Avesta was deciphered. It is affirmed, though there may be difference of opinion, that the late Prof. Wilson and Sir W. Jones deciphered Avesta dialects. Burnouf, Brockhaus, Spiegel, Westergaard, and MaxMuller have translated several texts of Avesta. Zarathustra's own writings are in Gathic dialect and the five famous Gathas, the Ahunavad, Ushtavad, Spentomad, Vohukhshtira and Vahishtoish, are the most important songs. They have their own metres, which generally agree with those of the Vedas. They are the oldest and the most important.

V. The well-known Prof. MaxMuller has divided the Vedic literature into three principal classes:—1. Hymns. 2. Brāhmaṇas. 3. Sūtras.

In the Hymns comes the R̥g. Veda (Veda of Hymns), Sāma Veda (Veda of Chants), Yajur Veda (Veda of sacrificial formulas), and Atharva Veda (Veda of half mythic race). These are the earliest forms. The Brāhmaṇas are different from the Hymns and they are in prose. The Sūtras are of various kinds and explain the religious rites and methods.

Veda means knowledge. Sanskrit language has been studied by great Mohmedans and when they entered India, some of their scholars translated Sanskrit works into Persian and Arabic. Abu Rihan Al Biruni has given a very vivid account of the literature of the Hindus in his book "Tarikh-ul-Hind". Al Biruni's knowledge of Sanskrit was so profound that he very ably translated one work on the 'Sāṅkhya' and another on the Yoga Philosophy. Many Mohmedan kings ordered several Sanskrit works to be translated. This shows their keen interest in this important language. Akbar, the Great, always devoted himself to reserach in various religions and found out the best existing religion. He called the 'Brahmins and the Christians and Parsi Priests and conferred with them. In my opinion, and in the opinion of many learned scholars, Dastur Meherji Rana never went to Akbar's Court. Because some Parsi Priests were invited to the Mogul Court, his name has been erroneously mentioned by some writers, as the one who went there. It is most fallacious to say that Akbar the Great gave up his Religion and professed Zoroastrian Faith. Shah Jehan too was a great student of Sanskrit. Halhed has remarked thus:—"I have been astonished to find the similitude of Sanskrit words with those of Persian and Arabic and of Latin and Greek". Prof. Mills says "Avesta is Veda's sister and no one doubts she is her elder sister". In many fragments we see that Avesta becomes of itself Vedic Sanskrit. For instance, in the first and foremost stanza of Ahunavaiti Gatha (Yasna 28), we pray thus:—"Ahya Yasa Nemangha Ustanazasto Rafedhrahya". In Vedic, we read thus:—"Asya Yāsā Namsa Uttanahashtah Rebhasah". The translation of both the above prayers is the same:—"With venerating desire for this gift of gracious help".

AVESTA

Mainycush Mazda Paoruim Spentayah Asha Vispengh Shavorthna

VEDIC

Manyoh haye medlah purvyam Svantasya rtem visvanchayantnani,
 "Oh Mazda! stretching forth both my hands, I pray for the first Bountiful Spirit".

VI. Research workers, Orientalists and Scholars like Du Perron, Burnouf, Mohl, Gobineau, Westergaard, Spiegel, Darmesteter, Haugh, Geldner, MaxMuller, Noeldeke, Windischmann, Hubschmann, Mills and Jackson have thrown great light on Avesta and Sanskrit literatures, so have our Indian Prelates and Scholars like Shams-ul-Ulma Sardar Dastur Hoshang, Mr. K. R. Cama, Dr. Sir Jivanji Mody, Ervad Sheheriarji D. Bharucha, Ervad Cawasji E. Kanga, Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Dorab Sanjana, Dastur Dr. Dhala, Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Kaikobad, Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Mr. S. J. Bulsara, Dr. I. J. Taraporewala, Ervad Tehmurasp D. Anklesaria and Dr. Jamshed Unwala. Many important fragments of the Avesta have been burnt or stolen but what we have in possession has been treasured and valuable manuscripts are in possession of Oriental Research workers. The Avesta Scriptures constitute the Zoroastrian Bible, comprising Yasna Pahalavi. Yazesna meaning worship offerings, is an important liturgical book which is recited only by the Priests (The Yozdathregar Mobeds) and is specially recited in honour of the dead, worshipping all the Blessed Divinities collectively. It contains 72 chapters. In this Yazesna are included the Staota Yasna and our holy Prophet Zarathushtra's Gathas. Then follows Visparad, which is practically dedicated to the Seasonal Festive Days, the Gahambars. It has nearly 22 chapters. There is another book known as Vandidad (Av-vidaevadata, the law given against demons). In Pah. it is known as Jut-div-dat. It is no doubt the law book of the Zoroastrians. In it we find how priests are to be purified by atonements and ecclesiastical penances. It contains 22 chapters or fargards. It is a mixture of various chapters in praise of Zarathushtra's Doctrine of Purity, the Ceremonies of the Dead, and Towers of Silence. There are Nasks, besides Vandidads. We find parallel epithets of Vedic Varun and Ahura Mazda of Avesta. In Rg. Veda we find विश्ववेदा meaning Omniscient and All-powerful. In Vandidad, Vispa-vidvao meaning All alone. Both these attributes in Veda and Avesta are almost similar.

VII. One chief thing we notice about the resemblance in Veda and Avesta is the Haoma Ceremony of the Zoroastrians which is almost analogous to the Saoma Ceremony of the Hindus. Again we find a close resemblance in the Purragana Ceremony of the Zoroastrians and the Vedic ऋग्यजुः Ceremony. There is also a great likeness in the Seasonal Festive Ceremonies i. e. the six Gahambars which are equivalent to the Hindus' चातुर्मास्य (four monthly) festivals of the Vedic Ritual. There is also some resemblance in the Bereshnum of the Zoroastrians and the Diksha of the Hindus. Both the Vedantas and the Zoroastrians are addicted more to the rituals and ceremonies than to the true essence of religion. It is the duty of the learned Priests and

the eminent Dasturs to decipher and place before the Parsi Community at large the true essence and the real kernel of the Zoroastrian Faith abolishing all mythical and unnecessary ceremonies. It is also to be hoped from our learned Oriental Scholars to throw fresh light on our religion and, by constant research work to enlighten the community. I want them to come forth boldly to enlighten the masses irrespective of criticism and censure. Unfortunately, wrong headed orthodoxy is so deeply rooted in the minds of most of the people that it will be no easy task on the part of our learned scholars to bring about a change for the better. The masses will not be ready to imbibe anything that savours of reform. But as we know "Change" is absolutely necessary in all our worldly affairs. If reform can be brought about amicably, it will be good for all parties concerned. Religion should not be starved or misunderstood for lack of common sense and judgment on the part of people who would not think of introducing even rational changes.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind presence and request you to take keen and active part in today's proceedings. I also thank you for a patient hearing of my address, which I hope, was not unduly long.

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ISLAMIC SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY DR. M. Z. SIDDIQI,

Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Studies, University of Calcutta.

Gentlemen,

Please allow me first to offer my heartfelt thanks to the organisers and members of the conference for the honour they have done me by asking me to preside at the first meeting of this section in this great centre of Islamic Culture in our country. For Hyderabad is not only the greatest of the native States in India, but also one of the most advanced of them and the most important centre of Islamic Religion and Culture in our ancient and great country, and to its generosity and ungrudging beneficence and active help and support is indebted every part of the country in its educational and social activities. (ملکت عاشقی و گنج طرب - ہرچہ دارم ز یمن اوست (حافظ) (The dominion of love and the treasure of happiness whatever we possess is due to his auspicious generous zeal).

When I first received the unexpected news that this honour has been conferred upon me I was naturally surprised, for many well qualified workers in the field of Islamic Religion and Culture, both of the old and the new schools were available in Hyderabad and in the other parts of the country. I therefore concluded that my selection as the Chairman of this section has been due not to my personal merit, but to my lucky and happy association with the province of Bengal, with the University of Calcutta, and with Sir Asutosh Professorship in Islamic Culture in that University.

The province of Bengal is the happy home of larger number of those who have accepted the Islamic Religion and Culture as their standard of life and thought, than any other part of the world. The University of Calcutta is not only the largest but also the first University in India to realise the importance of Islamic Culture and at the initiative and able guidance of its enthusiastic Vice-Chancellor the Hon'ble Sir Aziz-ul Haq, introduced it as an independent subject of study for the M. A. Degree and created a new department with the Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor himself as its Head, for giving instruction in the subject. And Sir Asutosh Professorship of Islamic Culture is associated with the name of the greatest Indian educationist of the modern times, I mean late Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who was the first Vice-Chancellor to widen the scope of the activities of an Indian University so as to include the higher research within its scope, and advanced the cause of higher research in the fields of the various arts and sciences in more than

one way. It is these lucky and happy associations which must have influenced your choice. The call however having come from you I could not but accept it of course with diffidence ;

علی امتی راض بان احممل الهوی و اخاص مند اعلی و آلیا

(I am always ready to bear the burden of love and to be released of it without getting any credit or discredit).

But I am extremely sorry and also disappointed at my inability to be personally present at the conference and particularly at the Islamic section for *مرا بگوش تو باید حکایت از آب خویش*. But my only consolation is this that *کوچر دوریم از بساط قرب همت دور نیست* I must, however, offer the conference my sincere felicitation for having added this important section of Islamic Religion and Culture to the already existing seventeen sections. About its historical and cultural importance there cannot be two opinions. Being embeded in the very nature of man, and preached by every prophet in every land, and rising in its final form from the arid land of Arabia, it spread in less than a century, almost throughout the then known world, adapting itself according to the requirements of the time and the place and the people, assimilating and influencing all the various cultures with which it came in contact, casting them into its own special mould, and unifying them into one common culture for the whole Islamic world. It is now accepted as standard of life and thought by one-sixth of the humanity and one-fifth of our own countrymen. It is unanimously accepted to be the last of the great religions of the world.

ISLAM IS THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION

Islam itself however does not share this view. Islam believes in religious evolution and claims that it is as old as humanity itself. It claims that this was the religion which was preached by every prophet, in every land, at every period of the history of mankind. This was the religion of Noah, of Abraham, of Moses, of Jacob, of Jesus, of Job, of Jona, of Aaron, of Solomon, of David and of all the other prophets. The names of only some of them are mentioned in the Quran, the others being referred to only in general terms.

It lays down that in every nation and land, in every race and country, there arose prophets. "There is not a nation but a warner has passed among them" (Qr. 35 : 24) ; "And verily in every nation we have raised a prophet (proclaiming) . serve Allah and shun false Gods (Qr. 16 ; 36) says the Quran. Their number is said to be 124313. But it is generally accepted by the Muslim divines, that it cannot be determined with certainty,

THE IDEA OF PROPHETHOOD IN ISLAM

All these prophets were according to Islam, mortal human beings. All of them ate food and walked about (Qr. 25 ; 22). Many of them had wives

and children (Qr. 13; 38); and none of them was either God or demi-God, or claimed to possess supernatural powers. They arose from among human beings because they had to guide human beings. If angels were living on the earth God might have sent down, angels to guide them (Qr. 17; 95). The prophets having arisen to guide the human beings on the earth, even if an angel had been sent to guide them he would have come in the garb of a man (Qr. 6: 9).

THEY PREACHED THE SAME GENERAL PRINCIPLES

All these prophets however, arose from among the people whom they had to guide and they preached in the language of the people themselves. The principal theme of their teachings and preachings was one and the same, that there is no God but Allah and He alone is worthy of being worshipped. That to Him man should pay his greatest homage, that it is He who planned and created every thing. That His angels whom He has created, never miss to carry out his commands. That the days of judgment and the Heaven and the Hell are all true. Similarly all the prophets are unanimous in recommending certain acts and prohibiting others. All of them have recommended certain common laws of conduct. But they differed in the details of the laws promulgated by them. " And for every one of you we appointed a divine law and a way" (Qr. 5; 38); " And unto each nation we have given sacred rites which they are to perform " (Qr. 22; 67) says the Quran.

These divine laws and sacred rites giving shape to the same general principles consist in the detailed working of the same general truth. The various nations and races of the world offered prayers in widely different ways; they performed pilgrimage to their different sacred places; their laws of atonement and punishment of the violators of their principles of religion and ethics, are different; yet every system of religion, before the rise of Muhammad, which maintained the right spirit of the true religion was, according to Islam, true Islam and its followers were true Muslims.

MUHAMMAD AS A PROPHET

Muhammad was the last link in the chain of the prophets. With him the evolution of the principles of Religion reached its final stage. He was just like other prophet a human being possessing no supernatural power, having like other prophets a specially large capacity for the highest religious experience, and communion with God, ever conscious of the fact that he was but a man, never losing his implicit confidence in Him or in the mission with which he had been entrusted and even in the most critical situations having complete confidence in his ultimate success. He never claimed to have brought any new message, rather he proclaimed again and again that his mission was the same as that of the previous prophets (Qr. 41, 43; 43, 13; etc.). But unlike the previous prophets each of whom arose for the guidance of a particular tribe or clan or nation and none of whom ever claimed to be

the guide of the whole of mankind, Muhammad claimed to be not only the last of the prophets but also to have arisen for the guidance of the whole of humanity. His mission, therefore, was to purify the teachings of the previous prophets from the abuses, superstitions, prejudices and evils which had been introduced by their followers and had grown from generation to generation, to bring their sacred teachings to their pristine purity and to unify them in one wholesome system which may serve as a general standard of life and thought for the whole of mankind.

THE MAIN PRINCIPLES TAUGHT BY MUHAMMAD

He declared the unity of God in the most forceful language. This according to him is the very fundamental principle of every true religion. He gave to man the highest place in the whole creation. Even the angels are asked to prostrate before him. For man's sake are created all the things on the earth (Qr. 11. 29), whereas he is created to worship God and to act as His vicegerent. He recognised the inherent purity of man and his freedom at birth, from all sins and evils; emphasised the equality and brotherhood of mankind declaring that the differences of race and nationality are created for the sake of convenience and should never be given undue importance. He declared that man was architect of his own fortune, that no one would get the credit or discredit for the deeds of another, and that every intentional action of a man must in the end bring its good or evil consequences.

THE IDEA OF GOD IN ISLAM

His God is the omnipotent and omniscient Being, Lord of the whole universe, ruling it according to the laws laid down by Himself, which he may change according to His own will, knowing even the hidden secrets of the minds of men and managing the whole universe by Himself. He is Supreme and Mighty, Just, Beneficent and Compassionate, Glorious and Wise, Creator and Sustainer of all, Bestower of grace and bounty and blessings. He gives life and causes death, destines and decrees every-thing that comes from Him or rises up to Him, be it great or small. Nothing moves without His permission, nor does even a leaf fall without His knowledge. He is self-sufficient needing nothing, whereas all else need Him. No one can gain any thing without His grace and mercy, nor can the least of evil befall to any one but in consequence of His justice and wisdom. His most prominent attributes mentioned in the Quran are Power, Wisdom and Mercy (Itqan p. 547; al-Budurul-Bazigha).

THE IDEA OF WORSHIP AND PIETY IN ISLAM

Worship of God according to Islam, does not consist only in offering prayer, making pilgrimage, keeping fast and giving alms, but includes all that pleases Him be it word or deed, physical or mental e. g. to speak the truth, to keep the confidence and trust of the people, to have proper filial affection

for the parents, to do good to one's own people, to the orphans, to the neighbours, to the poor, and to those that are in one's charge be they men or animals. Every sincere action of public weal, be it moral, social or political, physical, spiritual or intellectual, is recognised in Islam as an act of piety and a way of worship of God. To remove from the street things that may cause damage or injury to the public, is declared by the prophet to be a part of the faith, and he who does not keep his word or the trust and confidence of the people is declared as faithless. A good word and forgiveness (kindness) is according to the Quran (2 : 36) better than giving alms and at the same time injuring the recipient. He who tries to help the destitute and the widow is as good and pious as he who fights in the way of God, and prays for the whole night and fasts for the whole day, said Muhammad. In the Quran the word **آمَنُوا** (have faith) is generally followed by the words **وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ** (and do good deeds) which is explained by the commentators to be an explanatory phrase for the previous expression. Thereby the commentators of the Quran have shown that to do good deeds is a part and parcel of the Islamic faith. The good deed says Hamidud-Dín al-Faráhi is that which gives life to man and leads to his progress and to the highest and harmonious development of all his natural faculties (Tafsiri Surai wal-Aşr p. 41). "Pious", says Sháh Waliulláh, one of the greatest Muslim divines, is every action which the man performs with a view to show his submission to the Highest Lord.... Pious is every action for which one may be better rewarded in the immediate or remote future, pious is every action which may improve the high principles on which the organization of human society is based and also pious is every action which results in the submissiveness (to God) and removes the obstacles (between God and man). The religious rites and formalities themselves have their social and economic aspects also. The congregational prayer, the annual pilgrimage, and the poor tax are explained to have social, political and economic values, and under the first few caliphs such uses of them had been actually made. As a matter of fact the whole fabric of the Islamic religion is based not only on the mere inner spiritual urge in man but on his social economic and political needs as well.

This conception of God and of his worship, of man as His slave and vicegerent, of the equality and brotherhood of men and of every thing in the Universe as being created for the use and service of man, naturally leads to the cultivation and development of certain particular attitude of mind towards nature, man and God. This very mental attitude, and angle of vision is I what understand by Islamic Culture. And the objective expression of this culture in the form of the various sciences and arts is the Islamic Civilization.

This culture must be tolerant and not aggressive, creative and not destructive, active and not idle or passive, progressive and not retrogressive.

It must naturally embrace all the accumulated wisdom of the world and try to improve upon them for the spirit of brotherhood of man leads to mutual help and support, and not to exclusiveness and mistrust. The whole

early history of Islam shows this tolerant spirit of Islam and Islamic Culture. All the various sources of ancient civilization—Greek, Persian (including Assyrian, Babylonian and Median) Egyptian and Indian—were tapped without any bias or prejudice, and just as Islamic religion embraced and assimilated the important principles preached by all the previous prophets, so did Islamic Culture and civilization embrace and assimilate all the previous Cultures and Civilizations. The Islamic State gave shelter to the votaries of the various sciences and arts belonging to different races and professing different religions, and helped and encouraged them to carry on their great mission, in peace and tranquillity. As a matter of fact tolerance in every aspect of life and thought is one of the most important principles of Islam. In the whole history of mankind it would be difficult to find that spirit of toleration in any other community, which characterised the Muslims particularly in the period of their rise. In the Muslim courts at Damascus, at Baghdad, in Egypt, in Spain, in Persia and in India the great workers in the fields of the various sciences professing different religions worked in peace and harmony for the uplift and progress of the various sciences and arts without any hitch or hindrance. The Jews, the Christians, the Sabians, the Zoroastrians and the Hindus all received encouragement and support from the courts and the courtiers of the Muslim Sultans, and every art and science was cultivated by them with zeal and enthusiasm.

There is no doubt that certain art forms were not encouraged by Islam because it was apt to lead to the negation of its basic principle—Unity of God. But such art forms are replaced by certain other forms of art like calligraphy and geometrical figures. The term Arabesque which is applied to this style of decoration in most of the European languages shows its Arabian origin and successful development.

The Muslims in their zeal for toleration of the various cultures with which they came in contact assimilated even such element of foreign culture as was directly antagonistic to the true Islamic and Quranic spirit of culture, as it has been shown by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

The development of Islamic Civilization, however, as Nallino has shown, proceeded on thoroughly logical lines. After the period of translation of the foreign works were completed, their critical examination was taken up in right earnest. Expedition of scholars and specialists were sent out to observe natural phenomena and make definite observations. Experiments were made in order to establish scientific laws. The great French Orientalist Sedillot has shown the creative genius of the Islamic Culture in the realm of Mathematics and pointed out the definite contributions of the Arabic writers to these sciences. The German Orientalist Prof. I. Ruska has proved that Modern Chemistry based on actual experiments was founded by Abu-Bakr Zakariyyā at Rāzī, his book *Kitābu-Sirri'l-Astār* being the first book on the subject, written on modern lines. Another German Orientalist E Wiedemann has done some work on Arabian Mechanics. The principles of Historical

Criticism were established by the Muslims as early as the 8th century of the Christian era, the al-Resala of Imam al-Shaffi being the earliest Arabic treatise containing important materials on the subject. It had been further worked up at a later period by the famous Moorish historian Ibn Khaldun. In the field of Logic, the famous objection of J. Stuart Mill to the scientific value of deductive method of reasoning, had been expressed by Avicenna in the 10th century, and the four well known Inductive methods which form the basic principles of Inductive Logic were treated by Muhibbulláh of Bihár in his popular book the Sullamul-'Ulúm. Muhibbullah must have borrowed it from earlier authors on the subject. In medicine, Abu Bakr Zakariyyá al-Rázi made valuable contribution on modern lines in the treatment of small pox and laid great stress on proper bed-side clinical observation of the patient. In Ophthalmology J. Hirshburg, a well-known authority on the subject recognised the valuable contribution of Abu'l-Qásim al-Zahráwi to the science. In the realm of music, Mr. Farmer, an English Orientalist has given credit to the Arabian Musicians for their contribution to the vocal as well as instrumental music and brought out its influence on the modern European music.

It appears, however, that the Muslim writers and workers in the fields of the various arts and sciences, of the later period, had regained the true Islamic and Quranic spirit of Independence and equality of man which is expressed in the common saying of the Arabs *هم رجال و نحن رجال* and in the well-known remark of Avicenna that in science there is no place for following any one blindly. They shook off the yoke of their masters-Greeks, Persians, Indians and others, went direct to nature, observed natural phenomena derived their own conclusions, and established laws based on their own observation. A very interesting and important exponent of this method is Abu-Rayhán Ahmád al-Birúní who in all his writings quotes numerous great classical authorities, Greek as well as Indian, discusses critically, the implications of their views and then gives his own definite opinion on the subject, without, any fear or hesitation.

It was the work of these writers which paved the way for the wonderful progress of the various sciences in modern Europe.

Islamic Culture, however, is essentially humanitarian. The main object of all progress according to Islamic culture is the progress of not any particular race or nation or party, but of the whole humanity. Just as in Islamic religion the aim is not racial or national but international so in the realm of culture the ideal is the whole of humanity. Even the slaves—they are only tolerated in Islam and their emancipation is encouraged in every possible way—are to be educated and trained according to a tradition of the prophet of Islam. In actual history of Islam also we find many slaves having acquired great fame as learned men. Yáqút the great medieval traveller and geographer is only one of numerous examples of his class. Women who had been for long time treated as worse than the slaves not only shared all the amenities of

civilised society, but also took equal part with their brethren in almost all the spheres of cultured life. For about one thousand years in the history of Islam large number of them attended general classes in schools and colleges in all the important centres of learning, delivered lectures in important educational institutions, having important savants like al-khatib al-Baghdadi Ibn-i-Khallikān, Ibn-i-Hajar, al-Sakhāwī, Ibn-i-Baṭṭūta and many others as their students. They took part in literary discussions with learned men in mixed meetings, advised theologians and judges on important points of theology and law and in certain cases also worked as judges in regular courts.

The main aim of all the cultural activities in Islam is neither personal accomplishment nor racial or national superiority, but the fulfilment of the divine will. This according to Islam, is the real object of life and of all its varied activities.

ان صلاتى و نسبى و مميلى و مماتى لله رب العالمين

Verily my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my dearh all is for the sake of God who is the Lord of all the worlds.

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PRĀKRIT SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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*The Present Position of Prākṛit, Jaina and Buddhistic
Studies and their Future**

My Colleagues and Friends,

I tender my sincere thanks to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me as the President of the Ardhamāgadhi, Prākṛit etc., section of the Eleventh Session of the Conference to be held in this historic city of Hyderabad. I feel that it is a great honour conferred on me, It is with some diffidence that I accepted this responsibility, because the field of study is very wide and I am fully aware of my limitations. It has been customary to include under this Section the entire field of Middle Indo-Aryan and so also Jainism and Buddhism; and this chair, in the past, has been occupied by eminent Prākṛitists like Drs. P. L. Vaidya, N. P. Chakravarti and B. M. Barua. Most of you have patiently devoted yourself to your specialised line of study; so it would be presumptuous on my part to take the superior rôle of discoursing on something new. I wished, it was left to me to listen to you and learn the results of your study from you; but this Presidentship is associated with some duties. Naturally I look at this as a good opportunity to discuss with my fellow-workers, besides taking a cursory review of the work done in the field in the last two or three years, some of the important points which are uppermost in my mind. I hope, such discussions would be fruitful in various ways. We have come here from long distances; the common studies to which we are devoted form a bond of tie which would be more cordial by personal contact in this gathering; and all along, hereafter, we will be co-operating with each other to advance the cause of learning.

We have to mourn the recent loss of some scholars which has created gaps in our ranks. The sad demise of Muni Śrī Chaturavijayaji is sure to be felt by the students of Jaina and Prākṛit literature. He was an institution by himself devoting every bit of his time to religious piety and learning. Many

* The following abbreviations have been used in this Address BORI: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; BV: Bhāratiya Vidyā, Bombay; G. O. S.: Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda; I-A: Indo-Aryan; IC: Indian Culture, Calcutta; IHQ: Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta; Jaina A: Jaina Antiquary (with Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara), Arrah; JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society; JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; JSB: Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Arrah; JUB: Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay; NIA: New Indian Antiquary, Bombay; PTS: Pāli Text Society; SOS: School of Oriental Studies, London; and ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Jaina Bhaṇḍāras in Gujarāt owe their upkeep and good condition to this great saint. We owe to him important editions of Jaina texts, especially the Prākṛit texts like the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Bṛhat-kalpasūtra* edited by him in co-operation with Muni Punyavijayaji. He devoted fruitfully nearly half a century of his life to the cause of Jaina literature; and the only consolation for us is that he has left behind a worthy and well-trained pupil in Śrī Punyavijayaji who is silently carrying out the great traditions of learning of his worthy teacher. The Prākṛitists had high hopes from Mme. Luigia Nitti-Dolci whose *Les Grammairiens Prākṛits* (Paris 1938) is a substantial survey of the Prākṛit grammars; and so also we have her eds. of Puruṣottama's *Prākṛitānuśāsana* and of the first Śākhā of the *Prākṛitakalpataru* of Rāmaśarman (Paris 1939) whereby she completed the work begun by Grierson. It is really sad that such a promising and prospective career should have been cut short just at the age of thirty-five. Sir George A. Grierson, though better known for his *Linguistic Survey of India*, has substantially contributed to the Prākṛit studies by his monograph on the Prākṛit Dhātuvādesas and by his learned papers on the Paisācī dialect and the *Prākṛitakalpataru*. For decades together it is he who acquainted the Indian scholars, through the columns of *Indian Antiquary*, with the progress of Oriental studies carried on in the European Universities. Further we mourn the death of Mabel R. Rickmers who with W. Geiger had translated the *Cūḷavamsa* for the PTS and of Miss Mary E. Lilley who was one of the founding members of the first Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland and had edited the *Apadāna* for the PTS. Buddhist studies, especially those of Sanskrit Buddhism, have suffered an irreparable loss in the passing away of Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Like his elder contemporary, Sylvain Lévi, he was an eminent French Indologist round whom Indian students lovingly flocked for their higher studies. Prof. C. R. Lanman, in whom we lost a distinguished Editor of a magnificent Oriental Series, will be ever remembered by Prākṛitists for his graceful translation of the *Kaṣṭhāraṇjari*. India lost an outstanding Sanskritist in Dr. Ganganath Jha who had lately finished his translation of the *Tattva-saṃgraha* published in the G. O. S. May their souls rest in peace.

Looking back at the march of Oriental scholarship, we find that the Indologist had to take up the study of Prākṛits in the dramas and rhetorical works so far as literature was concerned, and in the Asokan inscriptions so far as epigraphic records were concerned. But the interest in Prākṛits had no bright prospects at this stage; the contents of the Prākṛit portions of the drama were studied from the Sanskrit Chāyā and the Inscriptions, which were often presumed to be in Sanskrit, occupied the attention of a few specialists. Some scholars came forth to study the Pāli texts, canonical and non-canonical; but the language, with occasional archaisms, showed such an uniform constitution which was so well defined by grammatical standards that the study of Pāli was almost segregated as it were in the study of the evolution of Indian Languages. Gradually the field of Ardhamāgadhī works was opened and cultivated to a great extent by Weber, Leumann, Jacobi, Schubring etc.; and

even in its early stages the study of Ardhamāgadhī, due to the affinity seen between Buddhism and Jainism, connected itself linguistically with Pāli and the Prākritis in the inscriptions. Soon Beames, Hoernle, Bhandarkar and others explained the growth of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages with the help of Prākritis. Almost simultaneously with this study, Bühler was working like an academic link between India and Europe; and scholars like Weber, Schmidt, Pischel, Pandit and others occupied themselves with Prākrit songs and poems and dramatic and grammatic Prākritis. It was Pischel collaborating with Geldner that found that some obscure Vedic words could be better explained with the aid of linguistic tendencies well-known in the Prākritis. Thus the field of Prākritis assumed well-defined outlines, though there was and still there is ample scope for adding details here and there; and on the eve of the last century, sound foundation was laid for the Prākrit studies by Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen* which is a monument of Germanic thoroughness and a marvel of methodical analysis of a bewildering mass of refractory material. Minor details may be added or corrected here and there; but Pischel's work, with its close associate, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* by Geiger, is a beacon light, as a descriptive grammar, to all the workers in the field of the Middle Indo-Aryan. The latest studies of Prof. Bloch (*L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux Temps Modernes*, Paris 1934) have clearly demonstrated how the Prākritis occupy an indispensable position in the study of Indo-Aryan. In view of the richness of material, the multiplicity of problems, the need of mastering so many languages and dialects, and the difficulties inherent in the field, it is wellnigh impossible for any single scholar to envisage the entire range of Prākritic studies completely and thoroughly. Every one of us can honestly try to do what is possible for us.

It is a deplorable event that we cultivated the habit of studying Prākritis not from the original but through the Sanskrit Chāyā. The reader satisfied himself with the contents and neglected the language; and thus, in a way, this method has been detrimental to the puritanic preservation and the natural study of Prākritis. This tendency has been so deeprooted with us that it has expressed itself in various ways. We are told that Siddhasena wanted to rewrite the entire Ardhamāgadhī canon into Sanskrit. Some of the later playwrights, who dare not give up the convention of using Prākritis in defiance of the rules of rhetoricians, add the chāyā themselves to their Prākrit composition. There was felt the necessity of a Sanskrit summary for that excellent Prākrit Campū, the *Samarāuccakahā* of Haribhadra; and even to-day many read it through its chāyā a portion of which is just published. The Apabhraṃśa Dohās and the post-Apabhraṃśa Rāsas are equipped with Sanskrit commentaries and chāyā. Hāla's verses have been metrically rendered into Sanskrit in later years. The *Jñāneśvarī*, an old-Marāṭhī commentary on the *Gītā*, is rendered back into Sanskrit. Sanskrit rendering is supplied even to the Asokan Inscriptions. As a culminating point for all this, the Prākrit portion of the so-called Sanskrit dramas is studied only from its chāyā in the courses of our higher education; and it has been my experience that some of

our graduates are not even aware of their neglect of the Prākṛit original. The cheap annotator has gone one logical step further, and an edition of a drama is already issued cleanly purging the Prākṛit passages from it. This method of study is as much unnatural as to render the *Ṛgveda* into classical Sanskrit and then study it. I am afraid that, but for the sanctity attached to the Vedic words and sounds, we would have even done this. The facts noted above clearly indicate that the study of Prākṛits is neglected almost uniformly; and there are reasons to believe that good many works, which are known to us only from quotations, have been lost beyond recovery.

A student is not adequately equipped for duly grasping the manifold currents of ancient Indian culture, if he does not study both Sanskrit and Prākṛit literatures side by side. It is absolutely necessary that the study of these languages should go hand in hand. The epigraphic evidence clearly indicates the popularity enjoyed by the Prākṛits as a medium of popular expression; and whether in the North or in the South the earliest royal edicts and private records are found written in Prākṛit. The dramas extensively use Prākṛits which are assigned to women etc.; and this testifies to the fact that the Prākṛits were once popular languages. Lately Prof. J. B. Chaudhari has drawn the attention of scholars to some Prākṛit poetesses in his excellent work, *Sanskrit Poetesses* Vol. II; and we know that the *Karpūramāñjarī* was first enacted at the instance of that cultured lady, Avantisundarī. But unluckily the Prākṛit studies have not as yet received the encouragement which they really deserve. To take one example, only a few Indian Universities have included Prākṛits in their courses. This, however, should not discourage the serious worker; the rich material in the fresh pasture of the Prākṛit field is sufficient to encourage him to work on and fill up the gaps in the study of Indian literature by the results of his researches.

It is an accepted fact that the progress of the study of any language or literature depends entirely on the critical editions of texts and their accessories. So far as Pāli is concerned, we have the entire canon issued on an uniform plan by the famous PTS. Though nearly the whole of the Ardhamāgadhī canon of the Jainas is published in India, in more than one edition, partly or entirely, the number of texts edited critically is very small. Most of the Nijjuttis and some of the Cūrṇis are published; but no serious attempts are made to bring out their authentic editions or to study thoroughly their contents in a critical manner. It is high time now for the Jaina community and the orientlists to collaborate in order to bring forth a standard edition of the entire Ardhamāgadhī canon with the available Nijjuttis and Cūrṇis on an uniform plan. It would be a solid foundation for all further studies. Pischel did think of a Jaina Text Society at the beginning of this century; in 1914, on the eve of his departure from India, Jacobi announced that an edition of the Siddhānta, the text of which can lay a claim to finality, would only be possible by using the old palm leaf Mss. from the Pāṭaṇa Bhaṇḍāras; and only four years back Dr. Schubring also stressed this very point. These scholars have done

solid work in this field, and naturally their words carry a significant weight with them. Now through the liberal donation of Sheth Hemachandra Mohanlalaji and others, the Hemacandrācārya Jñānamandira has been founded at Pāṭaṇa, and the local collections of Mss. are being housed safely and arranged systematically. This can grow into a fine research library in that historic metropolis of Gujārāt; and definite impetus would be given to Jaina learning, if a Board can be organised there to issue a standard edition of the canon with its Prākṛit commentaries. The critical text of the *Mahābhārata*, so ably edited by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, is a methodological marvel, and can serve as a good model. When the entire canon is authentically edited, it would be easily possible to improve upon and supplement the material of the *Ardhamāgadhi Dictionary* and the *Pāṣasaddamahāṇava* in order to complete a Dictionary of Ardhamāgadhi on the plan of the Pāli Dictionary of Stede or even that of Trenckner now edited by Andersen and Smith. Other accessories of research like the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* which has been lately completed in two volumes by Dr. Malalasekera can easily follow. As yet we have no authentic compilation of Jaina technical terms whose shades of meaning can be studied in the different strata of Jaina literature. Suali and Jacobi had seriously thought of a Prākṛit Dictionary (ZDMG, Vol. 66, pp. 544-48) some years back, but so far we have covered only a small bit of land though we aspire to reach the ideal destination.

The *Samarāṁcakahā* of Haribhadra is a typical representative of the narrative literature in Prākṛit or what we call to-day Jaina Māhārāṣṭri; but many of its predecessors like *Kuvalayamālakahā* (Prof. Jinavijayaji has an edition of this on hand) and its successors like the *Vilāsavaṁcakahā* are still in Ms. form only. Some of us must devote ourselves to edit various texts critically and write monographs on them; and thus alone the task of a future historian of Prākṛit literature can be facilitated. The editor of the Prākṛit texts is faced with many a grammatical and textual difficulty presented by the vagaries of Mss. Thoroughness of editorial discipline has its charms, no doubt; and it has its advantages for the advancement of studies; but we should not carry it out against the Ms. tradition. We are to reconstruct or reconstitute the text and not to create one. Ms.-tradition should deserve our highest respect; and it should weigh against later grammatical standards and critical and linguistic expectations. It is this consciousness alone that would keep us on the right track. On slender grounds the Prākṛit dialects are distinguished and conventional names are added to the list (S. M. Katre: Names of Prākṛit languages, NIA, II. 5); and naturally the editor's task is arduous. Inspired by the spirit of the scientific era, Pischel and Konow have been too rigorous and thorough; experience and fresh material are gradually teaching us that many of our authors did not distinguish the dialectal differences so thoroughly as the linguist of to-day expects from them; and we see that the edition of *Karpūramañjarī* (Calcutta 1939) by Dr. M. Ghosh of the Calcutta University comes like a reaction against the editorial rigour of Konow to vindicate, to a certain extent, his own theory elaborated in the Introduction

and his earlier paper, *Mahārāṣṭrī*, a later phase of Sauraseni (*Journal of the Dep. of Letters*, Vol. XXIII, Calcutta 1933). Prākritis present insurmountable difficulties to a conscientious editor ; however our fidelity to the Ms. tradition should not be infringed without sufficient reason ; and when we are very much tempted to offer emendations, we should state them clearly.

It is through Hāla's Collection, quotations in rhetorical works etc., that the orientalist is acquainted with a good deal of Prākrit poetry which is highly complimented by Rājasekhara and others. As regards the prose style, we have grand models in the Middle Indo-Aryan, especially in works like the *Milindapañho*, *Bhagavatī*, *Samarāiccakahā* etc. The text of the *Vasudevahinī*, which has already occupied the attention of eminent scholars like Dr. Alsdorf (*Harivamśapurāṇa* pp. 94-109, Hamburg 1936 ; Eine neue Version der verlorenen Bṛhatkathā des Guṇādhyā presented to the 19th International Oriental Conference at Rome ; The Vasudevahinī a Specimen of Archaic Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Bulletin of the SOS, VIII, parts 2-3 ; A new Version of the Aṣṭadatta story NIA I, 5) when completed will give rise to a crop of problems connected with the Indo-Aryan language and literature. These texts afford rich material for the study of the M. I-A. prose. Dr. A. M. Ghatage has already begun a systematic study of Prākrit Syntax (Repetition in Prākrit Syntax, NIA II, 1 ; Concord in Prākrit Syntax, *Annals of the BORI*, XXI, 1-2). Lately in his Doctorate thesis on the Causal in the Indo-Aryan, he has fully discussed the different aspects of causal formations in the Prākrit.

The early stratum of the Prākrit literature, which is held sacred by the Digambara Jainas, is at present represented by the works of Sivārya, Kundakunda, Vattakera and others. It was believed, and rightly so, as lately shown by Prof. Hiralalaji (*Jaina A.*, Vol. VI. pp. 75-81), that still earlier texts are embedded in the huge commentaries, *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahāvihārā* whose only Mss. exist at Moodbidri in South Kanara. For decades together they were not being given out. Times are changed, and the copies of the first two have come out. Under the patronage of Sheth Lakshmichandraji Shitabrai, Prof. Hiralalaji, Amraoti, has already brought forth three sumptuous volumes of *Dhavalā* giving the text and Hindi rendering. His learned Introductions are bringing to light many new facts ; and in various contexts we shall have to modify our knowledge of the history of Jaina literature. It is for the first time that these works dealing with highly technical Jaina dogmatics and in Prākrit prose of a logical style (with Sanskrit passages interspersed here and there) have been brought to light ; and thus an important branch of Indian literature is opened for study. It is a matter of satisfaction that the *Jayadhavalā* also has been taken up for publication, under the liberal patronage of Sahu Shantiprasadaji Jain, by the Jaina Saṅgha, Mathurā ; and Pt. Mahendrakumaraji, Benares, and his colleagues have been entrusted with the editorial work. Prof. Hiralal's work has been appreciated everywhere ; and it has been possible for him, through the goodness of Śrī Cārukīrti Bhāṭṭāraka of Moodbidri, to compare the press-copy of the *Dhavalā* with the original palm-leaf Mss. at Moodbidri. It is necessary,

and we earnestly appeal to Śrī Cārukīrti Bhaṭṭārakajī and the local Pañcas of Moodbidri, to make available to scholars the copy of *Mahādhalavālā* also. We see no reason why *Mahādhalavālā* should not be published from Moodbidri itself and thereby enhance the greatness of that holy place. The works of Sivārya and Vaṭṭakera are published with their Sanskrit commentaries, but as yet they are not subjected to a critical study. They contain much matter which antedates the division of the Jaina church into two great schisms, Digambara and Śvetāmbara; and if their contents are duly compared with Nijjuttis, many interesting facts can be brought to light. The lines of study are partly indicated by Leumann (*Übersicht über die Āraśvaka-Literatur*, Hamburg 1934), and we have to pursue them further.

So far the Jaina Commentarial literature, of which we have a great bulk in Prākṛit and Sanskrit and on both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts, is studied only to understand the basic texts. Many commentaries are published, but few are critically studied. The Nijjuttis, Cūrpis and even the Sanskrit commentaries are a rich mine of information giving *pūrapakṣa* views, quotations from Jaina and non-Jaina texts, traditional and didactic tales and bits of cultural information, all of which is not so far properly sorted and critically assessed. We know the dates of many of these works, and hence their contents assume a chronological value. Prof. Vidhushekhara Bhaṭṭacharya has lately shown (IHQ, XVI, p. 143) that Guṇaratna quotes from and was quite familiar with the *Pramāṇavārtika* of Dharmakīrti the text of which has been lately edited by Śrī Rahula Saṅkṛityayana. In some cases the quotations have some textual value as shown by Mr. P. K. Gode in his interesting paper, The *Bhagavadgītā* in the pre-Saṅkarācārya Jaina sources (*Annals of the BORI*, XX, p. 188 ff.). I have lately proved how the *Jivatattvapradīpikā* (Sk.) on the *Gōmmaṭasāra* was wrongly attributed to Keśavavarṇi when, in fact, it was written by one Nemicaṇḍra, a contemporary of king Śālīva Mallirāya who flourished in South Kanara at the beginning of the 16th century A. D. (IC, VII, i). A scrutiny of their quotations often helps us to put good limits to the age of these commentaries as I have attempted in the case of Vasunandi's Vṛtti on the *Mūlācāra* (Woolner Comm. Vol., Lahore 1940, p. 257 ff.), and as Mr. Gode has shown with respect to Malayagiri's date (Jaina A., V, 4, p. 133 ff.). It is desirable that the Editors themselves should analyse such material in their editions; and if they omit doing it, some of us can take up these topics and study them thoroughly.

The study of Apabhraṃśa language and literature is a new field in Indology. Many valuable texts have been edited by scholars like Jacobi, Dalal, Gune, Shahidullah, Gandhi, Vaidya, Hiralal and Alsdorf. Important discussions on the nature of this language have been contributed by Jacobi, Gandhi, Hiralal, Alsdorf, Upadhye and others. It is a gain to many of our students that Jacobi's Introductions are translated into English by Dr. Manilal Patel. A number of linguistic and metrical problems connected with Apabhraṃśa are ably discussed by Dr. Alsdorf in his *Apabhraṃśa-Studien* (Leipzig 1937). Students of Apabhraṃśa have nothing but praise to offer for the arduous and

patient labour with which Dr. P. L. Vaidya has finished his sumptuous edition of Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* in three volumes. The joint efforts of Premiji Hiralalaji, Alsdorf and Vaidya have not only rescued from oblivion one of the great poets of medieval India but by their solid contributions have also given him a significant seat in the galaxy of Indian poets. The fading flower of Puṣpadanta's genius bloomed once more at Mānyakheta, the modern Malkhed in this very territory of H. E. H. the Nizam; and under the patronage of Bharata he composed his *Mahāpurāṇa*. The personal touches, which are nicely outlined by Dr. Vaidya in his Introduction, are simply thrilling, and throw a good deal of light on the personality of Puṣpadanta. It is for the future workers now to work out internal details with befitting devotion. What we possess and what we know about Apabhraṃśa literature and language are nothing in comparison with what is still buried in Mss. in the great Bhaṇḍāras scattered all over Rājaputānā, Gujarāt and the adjoining territory. The Apabhraṃśa language appears to have been intensively cultivated nearly for one thousand years, almost from the 6th to the 16th century A. D., all over this area. Here is a virgin soil that awaits intensive labour of a few generations of scholars. For a while we must set aside our imaginative faculty in putting forth startling theories from meagre facts, must curb to some extent the premature enthusiasm of the fresh discoverer, guard ourselves against sweeping generalisations and patiently labour on these Mss. to bring to light manifold linguistic and cultural facts and assess their significance in a proper perspective. What we want to-day is the authentic editing of these works. The documentary value of the works of many of the Apabhraṃśa and Old-Gujarātī poets is far superior to that of the works of even later authors like Jñāneśvara and Tukārāma in Mahārāṣṭra. Reliable texts that are systematically and definitely constituted after using specified and authentic Ms. material are a pre-requisite of all research and serious study. To begin with, our editions may not be and cannot be absolutely critical; but a careful editor can make them reliable within the limits of the specified material. That is a modest beginning for all further work, and no critical investigation can be carried on with uncertain texts. Necessary help for such work is available. Hemacandra has given to us a practical outline of the Apabhraṃśa. Eminent scholars like Jacobi, Hiralal, Vaidya and Alsdorf have placed before us model editions; and the significant part of their work is that they are guided more by the cumulative evidence of grammatical standard arrived at by the study of Mss. than by the rigid rules of some grammarian or the other. *Pārasadda-mahamāṇava* is a good dictionary for all practical purposes. Apabhraṃśa marks a new era in Indian literature in the employment of metres quite fitted for the genius of that language. The valuable material and the learned discussions presented by Prof. H. D. Velankar in connection with the metrical discipline of Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa form a mine of information and as such are indispensable to all students of Prākṛit literature. His latest contribution pertains to Apabhraṃśa and Marāṭhī metres (NIA I, 4, pp. 215 ff); and we are soon expecting his edition of Hemacandra's *Chandṇusāsana* (the portion dealing

with Prākṛit metres) equipped with useful Indices. The Mathematical portion of the Pratyāhāras from this work is studied by Dr. Alsdorf in his article in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (Leipzig 1933). We owe a good deal to scholars like Haraprasada Shastri, Shahidullah, Bagchi, Chowdhari and others in connection with the study of what is called eastern Apabhraṃśa. Lately Dr. P. C. Bagchi has edited the *Dohākośa* (Calcutta 1939), which presents the Apabh. texts of the Sahajayāna school, with chāyā and Sanskrit commentary on some portions. Day by day, new Apabhraṃśa texts are being brought to light. Prof. Hiralal has lately written an article on the *Aṇuvaya-rayana-padīva* of the 13th century A. D. (JSB, VI, p. 155 ff.), and I am presenting to you a paper on Hariṣeṇa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* composed in 988 A. D. The Apabh. field is a rich pasture to feed our studies upon. What is done is nothing in comparison with what needs to be done. I dare not advise you; let us all sincerely and systematically work in co-operation with each other in order to advance the studies which we have inherited from our worthy predecessors.

Apart from its linguistic importance, the Apabhraṃśa poetry is rich in its metrical and rhetorical devices, possesses a good deal of ethical wisdom, and exhibits a close observation of the work-a-day world. What we see in Hāla's songs is found here on a magnified scale. The flow of words rushes like a mountain stream, as Uddyotanasūri has put it; and the war descriptions give a thrill. Though the expressions are vigorous, softer sentiments like love, piety and kindness are sketched with a remarkable human touch. The literature, as a whole, is anything but aristocratic, and reflects different aspects of Indian society. Not only a cold linguist gets rich material but also a sentimental literary artist finds a delicious dish in this tract of literature. Nowhere else in Indian literature sound and sense, outward music and internal melody, have so much co-operated to create an indelible poetic effect as in Apabhraṃśa.

A thorough study of Apabhraṃśa texts is necessary in yet another way. So far as Gujarātī and Rājasthānī are concerned, there is every prospect of tracing the history of the evolution of these languages; and much that has been written in the past will have to be rewritten after using the material from Apabhraṃśa literature. How closely connected is the origin of the Modern Indian languages with Apabhraṃśa is briefly but clearly shown by Dr. Alsdorf in his popular lecture on *Die Entstehung der newindischen Sprachen* (ZDMG for 1937). Lately Prof. Narottamadas Swami and other scholars have nicely edited some old Rājasthānī texts. The topic has been critically approached by Tessitori, Turner, Dave and others; but still, much more requires to be done. The linguistic data is so vast and varied that it brings us almost to the dawn of the period of New Indo-Aryan, especially Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Old Rāsas, many of which have been noted by Mr. M. D. Desai and others, are indispensable in the study of the earlier stages of Gujarātī. Some words and forms can be studied through dated records at regular intervals. In Maithilī also the old poets like Vidyāpati remind us of a good deal of Apabhraṃśa as we know it from the grammars,

With the national consciousness that we see prevailing everywhere in India, more and more attention is being devoted to the study of modern Indian languages which, in the long run, will serve as the medium of instruction in the higher education also. After all it is our graduates and undergraduates that are to mould our literary languages; and their perspective usually depends on what they have studied for their examination. It is not enough, therefore, that students should study only modern literature in their courses of modern Indian languages; but they must be duly equipped with some knowledge of Prākṛits, especially Apabhraṃśa. It is high time that the Universities, which have modern Indian languages in their degree courses, saw that the curriculum should prescribe a first-hand knowledge of Prākṛits and Apabhraṃśa. A sudden leap from Sanskrit to Hindī, Gujarātī or Marāṭhī gives no clear grasp of the language to the student; and in the absence of any training in or acquaintance with Prākṛits, some of the etymologies etc., attempted by even notable writers are simply inauthentic, if not ridiculous. In some provinces the language that is being evolved to-day is somewhat pedantic, and the literary language is drifting away from the language spoken by masses. The Prākṛitist has to be immune from provincial predilections and prepossessed partialities. If the facts collected do not warrant a categorical conclusion, let us refrain from arriving at it. A law or a theory hurriedly laid down is fatal to all progressive scholarship. Theories may be fascinating; but if they are not well-founded, they blur our vision. Unfortunately the study of Prākṛits has suffered to a certain extent due to some theories which thrived on scanty facts. Without any ceremonious hesitation we had to give up the theory that there were as many Apabhraṃśas as there are provincial languages to-day. Further, the builders of science have always a set of terminology; but when we use them later on, we have to be fully aware of the meaning originally attached to these terms. For instance, the Eastern and Western Schools of Prākṛit grammar have to be understood with some proviso (BV. II, ii, p. 171). Terms like Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurasenī may have had some local colour in the beginning; but once they became literary languages, their connection with a particular locality cannot be insisted on to its logical extreme. Such statements as 'Wherever Māhārāṣṭrī works were written is Mahārāṣṭra'; only show how loosely these terms are used by some people. Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī or Jaina Saurasenī has nothing to do with Jains in Mahārāṣṭra or Śūrasena territory. The Prākṛitist has to guard himself against such pitfalls.

Now it is wellnigh admitted by scholars that Apabhraṃśa, with minor local variations here and there, formed the basis and the prototype of the Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars and was current over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India. If, therefore, our present vernaculars are to be enriched in vocabulary and grammatical formation, here is a common field upon which we can draw; to some extent this would bring our language nearer the masses; and this approach would satisfactorily solve, in a large measure

the problem of the vocabulary of our National language which we are trying to evolve for interprovincial intercourse.

Following the lead of Grierson, Tessitori, Bloch, Turner etc., eminent Indian linguists like Drs. Chatterji, Banarasidas, Dharendra Varma, Saksena, Dave, Katre, Kakati and others have given to us admirable monographs on various languages and dialects like Bengali, Panjābi, Braj, Awadhī, Gujarātī, Kōhkaṇī, Assamese etc. From the nature of the material available to them, their studies are devoted more to the problems of phonology than to questions of morphology, while the aspect of syntax is cleanly left out. Thus there is still a good deal of scope in clearing up the origin and growth of forms and syntax of most of these languages, particularly with the aid of the welcome help supplied by Apabhraṁśa literature. Even in phonology the new material available in the ever increasing Apabhraṁśa works has to be further investigated as is apparent from some of the problems studied by Dr. Alsdorf in his *Apabhraṁśa-Studien*. Thus can be marked out the period of the beginning of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages some of which have developed interesting post-positions. A systematic study of any phase of the New Indo-Aryan cannot be divorced from the thorough study of the Middle Indo-Aryan. In other words, and going one step further, our modern languages should be approached on the one hand from the Prākritic side and on the other from that phase of the present language which is current among the masses. This alone would give us a complete outline for our study.

The urgency of systematising and popularising the Prākrit studies is being gradually felt, and we are glad to welcome a few of the latest publications in this direction. Dr. A. M. Ghatage's *Introduction to Ardhamāgadhī* (Kolhapur 1941, Second revised ed.) is a systematic and serious attempt to lay the foundation of Ardhamāgadhī studies on a sound basis keeping in view the position of Ardhamāgadhī in the Middle I-A. and general linguistics. Though meant for beginners, it does not ignore the needs of higher studies. In view of the methodical record of authentic forms, this Introduction would be very useful to all the students of the Middle I-A. The *Jaina Siddhānta-kaumudī* or the *Ardhamāgadhī Vyākaraṇam* by Śrī Ratnachandraji Muni (Lahore 1938) is an attempt to present the facts of the Ardhamāgadhī grammar in Sanskrit on the model of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*; naturally it would be very useful to Sanskrit Paṇḍitas to acquaint themselves with Ardhamāgadhī. Maḥābodhī Sabhā, Sarnath, has been, with a view to popularise the contents of the Pāli canon, issuing Hindī translations of some important Pāli works; and as a supplementary step in this effort, a standard and exhaustive Pāli grammar in Hindī was urgently needed. This need has been ably fulfilled by the *Pāli-Mahāvvyākaraṇa* (Sarnath, Benares 1940) of Bhikṣhu Jagadīśa Kāśyapa who has systematically presented the contents of the Pāli grammar of Moggallāna whose sūtras are constantly referred to in the foot-notes and are continuously reproduced (with the Dhātupāṭha) in an Appendix. Together with Geiger's *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, this is an extremely useful volume for the student of Pāli.

A time may soon come when standard Dictionaries of Modern Indian languages will have to be compiled after studying the etymological history of every word in the light of Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Dravidian sources. Turner's Nepālī Dictionary has already set an example. The Prākṛits afford such a rich material that a Prākṛitist has to contribute a substantial share in tracing the etymological and semantic growth of various words in the Modern I-A. The so-called Deśī words open his vista still further, and he has to establish close connection with Dravidian languages as well. If we are able to publish all the major Apabhraṃśa and post-Apabhraṃśa texts, in many cases we might be able to detect the growth of words and forms at different intervals. No Dictionary of any New I-A language can be worth the name, if it silently ignores the rich material from the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.

The lexicographical, etymological and grammatical study of Prākṛits, if systematically carried out in relation to the usages in Jaina and Buddhist Sanskrit texts and commentaries, is sure to be fruitful and sure to advance our knowledge of the Middle Indo-Aryan to a great extent. The Jaina Sanskrit texts are not sufficiently utilised in our Sanskrit-Dictionaries: that is a handicap in our studies. The interpretation of *Antaraghara* (NIA, I, i) and *Tāyin, Tāyi* and *Tādī* (D. R. Bhandarkar Vol. p. 249 ff.) given by Dr. P. V. Bapat; the explanation of *ukalūpaya* by Dr. A. M. Ghatage (NIA, I, 5); Prof. Edgerton's fresh light on the Pāli *muddha* (NIA, II, 9), on the Indic *disati*=says (Woolner vol. p. 88) and on the endless Noun-case forms in Prākṛit (JAOS, 59, No. 3); discussion about the Prākṛit *uccidima* and *uccuḍai* by Dr. S. M. Katre (Kane Vol. p. 258) and about *sāmihā* etc., by Dr. Alsdorf (Bulletin of the SOS, Vol. X, part 1, p. 22); and the collection of various passages mentioning *gōmmaṭa* made by me (IHQ, XVI, p. 819 ff.; BV, II, ii) do indicate that a good deal of fruitful work can be done in this direction. The Jaina texts, especially from Gujarāta, show interesting solecisms (some of whose counterparts are quite normal in Prākṛits) which, if studied in the light of the various readings given in our national edition of the *Mahābhārata* issued by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, would give us some idea of the popular aspects of Sanskrit in the medieval ages.

The linguistic material afforded by Prākṛits is rich and varied; it belongs to different localities in India; and the period of time covered, so far as written records are concerned, is not less than two thousand years. We are at the beginning of our studies, and many riddles are still to be solved. Naturally if linguists find this a slippery field to sustain their grand theories, let them not hazard mere flights of speculation and shower on us sceptical curses. The Indian conditions being vastly different, some of the theories and modes of evaluation, developed with definite facts of European languages, may not be exactly applicable in the different fields of Indian languages; and even Bloch has warned us to be very careful in giving the evidence its proper value. Immense material is still to be brought to light before subtle and delicate critical tests can be applied. If facts are properly sorted and placed in the hands of an expert linguist, he can make good use of them; we see how

Bloch has used the facts from the Prākritis in his survey of the Indo-Aryan. The field being very vast, departmentalisation for the convenience of study is necessary; only we should not lose sight of the wider generalities. It is already noted above how good work is done in Prākrit metrics and syntax. Some of the dialects can be studied individually and exhaustively. In continuation of what Pischel had sketched, I have lately taken a survey of Paisācī language and literature (*Annals of the BORI*, XXI, pp. 1-37). A similar survey of Māgadhī was given to us by W. E. Clark many years back (*JAOS*, 44). What we want at present is a systematic and patient collection of facts which will enable further critical study. The Prākrit Inscriptions have not been viewed as a whole from the point of view of language. I, however, learn that a post-graduate student is working on this subject under the guidance of Dr. S. M. Katre in the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, Poona. The classified linguistic data would help us to assess the value of our Prākrit grammars and other traditions about Prākritis.

The Prākritist, as a linguist, has another duty to fulfil. With the spread of education and standardisation of Modern Indian languages, a lot of valuable material in the popular speech is bound to disappear after a time. Many words, forms and turns of expression, which have historical justification, are looked down upon as vulgar, because they do not conform to the current standard of the so-called correct language of the educated classes. For a student of the Middle Indo-Aryan, such linguistic material among the masses, in many a case, represents significant stages in the evolution of the Prākrit languages into the Modern languages. This raw material is fast disappearing, and we cannot afford to wait any longer. It is not enough if we merely repeat the facts collected by Grierson and others. Parroting the theories of our Western masters may have its value, but some day we have to rise above that; we must assiduously collect the linguistic facts from the tribal areas and the uneducated village populace. If these facts are approached from the side of Prākritis, their value is likely to be appreciated better; and in the long run rich material would accumulate. Those who have some linguistic training can certainly reach positive results by noting and systematically classifying these facts.

India is a veritable museum of languages and dialects both written and spoken, dead and living. Taking into account the data supplied by Sanskrit and Prākrit grammarians, keeping in view the scientific methods evolved by the advanced linguists of the West, duly collecting the material from the Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa texts, and putting together the data available from the uneducated masses who are sure to inherit genuine and old material that is lost in the case of educated classes on account of new influences and grammatical standardisation, we find that the growth of Indian languages has not only a strong foundation but also a consistent growth which will interest many a scholar. The educated people, on account of their limited standards, may shun the language of masses as incorrect; but for a linguist there is nothing like correct or incorrect; every authentic fact of the language has a

legitimate place in his historical and comparative study of the growth of language.

There is a common belief that the study of Prākṛits has little to do with those parts of the South India where Dravidian languages are spoken, and consequently the study of Prākṛits has no bearing on Dravidian philology. Nevertheless we know that some of the Āndhra dynasties have left their inscriptions in Prākṛit, and there are traditions which associate literature written in Prākṛit with the kings of the Āndhra dynasty. Hāla or Śātavāhana is the most notable example. Coming to the Kannaḍa area and the adjoining territory, we have a series of writers like Koṇḍakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Kumāra, Virasena, Jinasena, Nemicandra and others whose Prākṛit works have come down to us. Dharmapāla is associated with the South, and Kāñcī is an important place in Pāli tradition. The Tamil works like *Kuṇḍalakeśi* and *Maṇimekhalai*, though the first is lost now, we owe to Buddhist authors. The Prākṛit grammarians like Trivikrama, Śimharāja, Lakṣmīdhara and perhaps the author of *Prākṛitamāñjarī* belonged to the South. My researches on the *Kaṁsavaha* of Rāma Pāṇivāda (Hindī Grantharatnākara Kāryālaya, Bombay 1940), made it clear to me that we had altogether neglected an important tract of Prākṛit literature cultivated in the extreme South. Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka wrote his *Sirciṁdhakavacām* in the 13th century A. D. to illustrate the rules of the *Prākṛita-prakāśa* (BV. III, i); and as late as 18th century A. D. Prākṛit works were written in the Kerala country. Besides the *Śauricarita* of Śrī-kaṇṭha, lately there has come to light an incomplete Ms. of *Gauricarita*. We owe to Rāma Pāṇivāda a commentary on Vararuci's Sūtras and two Prākṛit poems *Kaṁsavaho* and *Usāṇiruddham*. The text of the second also is edited by me from a single Ms. (JUB., September 1941). Rudradāsa has written a *Ṣaṭṭaka*, *Candralekḥā*, to celebrate the marriage of Eralapatti Rāja, the Zamorin of Calicut. These are not stray efforts, nor are they confined to mere cultivation of some sacred literature. They show a continuity of Prākṛit study.

It is not unlikely that Prākṛits may have influenced Dravidian languages too. So far as Kannaḍa is concerned, we have undisputable circumstantial evidence and solid facts which go to show that a novel mould in Kannaḍa style was cast under the inspiration of Prākṛits. It is quite likely that some of the Jaina writers who wrote in Kannaḍa were already acquainted with Prākṛits, especially Jaina Sauraseni as we call it to-day. We know how Āṇḍayya openly rebelled against the excessive use of Sanskrit words in Kannaḍa poems, and he wrote his *Kabbigara Kāva* in what he calls pure Kannaḍa. How the contemporary critics received it, we are not in a position to judge; but the subsequent Kannaḍa works do show a moderation in the use of Sanskrit words. But to-day if we look dispassionately at the performance of Āṇḍayya (c. 1235 A. D.), we find that many of his words are converts from Sanskrit according to the rules of Prākṛit grammar, of course without violating the phonetic trend of the Kannaḍa language. His words like *sakkada* for *samskṛta*, *kabba* for *kāvyā* etc., are quite familiar to Prākṛitists. Again, if we carefully

study the Apabhraṃśa-prakarāṇa from the *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa* of Keśirāja, various rules clearly betray the influence of Prākṛit grammar. I am not aware of any detailed study in this direction. Many of the so-called Deśī words, current in Prākṛits, can be traced to Dravidian group of languages. If Prākṛit influence is detected in the growth of Kannaḍa vocabulary, we should try to see whether any such influence is seen in Telugu and Tamil. I take the liberty of requesting my colleagues, working on Dravidian philology, to take into account the relation of Prākṛits with Dravidian languages in the course of their studies.

Apart from the field of Middle Indo-Aryan languages, the Jaina and Buddhist authors have contributed their mite to the various branches of Indian learning not only in Sanskrit but also in some of the Dravidian languages. Of the two major Kāvya in Tamil attributed to Buddhist authors, only *Maṇimekhalai* has come down to us and the chances of discovering *Kuṇḍalakeśi* are growing remote. Orientalists are studying Buddhist and Jaina texts in their respective lines of study such as lexicography, metrics, grammar, polity, Nyāya, medicine and calculatory sciences; but they are usually confined to Sanskrit, because the material from the Tamil and Kannaḍa works is not easily available for those who do not know these languages.

For the treatment of the subject-matter it may look convenient to take up Jaina literature as an unit of study, though the Jaina authors clearly show that their cultivation of the literary lines was not isolated from the other streams of Indian literature. Pūjyapāda is fully conversant with the *Mahā-bhāṣya* of Patañjali; Akalaṅka studied and refuted the Buddhist logicians that flourished before him, and even Haribhadra wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Dignāga; poets like Ravikīrti and Jinaseṇa show a respectful familiarity with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi; and authors like Siddhicandra and Cāritravardhana wrote commentaries on the works of Bāṇa and Māgha. Thus the study of Jaina literature is quite essential to fully appreciate the growth of the network of Indian literature as a whole.

The Jaina authors were pursuing their literary activities, almost side by side, in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Tamil and Kannaḍa; and some authors took pride in styling themselves *ubhaya-bhāṣā-kavi-cakravartī* etc., because they could compose poems etc., in two languages. It is difficult for one and the same scholar to master all these languages; so the time has come now when systematic labours in different fields might be pooled together for settling finally various items in the chronology of Indian literature. The Jaina works found in these languages are so much interrelated that texts of identical names and similar contents are found in different languages at different periods. I may give only one illustration. Jayarāma wrote a *Dharmaparīkṣā* (DP) in Prākṛit; based on this we have the Apabhraṃśa DP of Hariṣeṇa written in A. D. 988; Amitagatī wrote his Sanskrit DP in A. D. 1014; and by about the middle of the 12th century Vṛttavilāsa wrote his DP in Kannaḍa. Hariṣeṇa belonged to Chitor, Amitagatī is associated with Ujjain or Dhārā, and Vṛttavilāsa is a native of Karṇāṭaka.

This interlingual and interprovincial influence underlying the various works is sure to contribute interesting details to our structure of Indian literature. The late lamented R. Narasimhachar often felt the need of checking the relative chronology of Kannaḍa literature with the help of other Jaina works in Prākṛit and Sanskrit. More than once it is the references from Kannaḍa works that have put reliable limits upon the dates of some Prākṛit and Sanskrit authors. But this has not been done, to any appreciable extent, with regard to Tamil literature, as far as I know. The Tamil scholars have occupied themselves in constructing a relative chronology which requires to be adjusted by a comparative study of corresponding works in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. There should be no presupposition that every Tamil or Kannaḍa work is later than a similar work in Prākṛit or Sanskrit, because we know that Keśavavarma's Kannaḍa commentary on the *Gōmmaṭasāra* was translated into Sanskrit by Nemicaṇḍra. A critical and dispassionate comparison of the contents would show in many cases which of the two works is earlier and which is later; and when some facts are brought to light, hardly any scope is left for mere opinions. It is being accepted by some scholars now that *Maṇimekhalai* is later than Dignāga. If a Tamil work refers to Indra's grammar sacred to the Jains, we are reminded of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* which is more than once understood as Indra's grammar. It is necessary, therefore, to see how far *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannool* are indebted to the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*. It is expected that Tamil scholars would institute a critical comparison of *Jivakacintāmani*, *Yaśodharakāvya*, *Nāgakuṃārakāvya* etc., with corresponding works in Sanskrit whose dates are nearly settled. Tamil scholars like Shivaraj Pillai are growing suspicious about the ages of early Saṅgams the traditions about which are described as 'entirely apocryphal and not deserving any serious historical consideration'. At any rate a comparative study of Jaina works in Tamil and Sanskrit would help us to adjust rightly the chronology of Tamil literature. I believe, Prof. Chakravarti's essay; *Jaina Literature in Tamil* (Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah 1941) would attract the attention of many scholars to the contents of important Jaina works in Tamil.

The Nyāya branch of early Indian literature has attracted comparatively little attention of the Orientalist. The Jaina Nyāya works are almost untouched, though for centuries together eminent authors have discussed the principles of Jainism in relation to other Indian systems of thought in a highly elaborate style. In the beginning it was Pathak and Vidyabhushan who wrote a good deal about the chronology of these texts; but lately so much new material is coming to light that we have to change many of our earlier conclusions. Prof. H. R. Kapadia is editing *Anekāntajayapatākā* with Svopajñavṛtti and Muniṇḍra's commentary in the G. O. S. (Vol. I, Baroda 1940). In his excellent edition of Akalaṅka's three works, *Akalanka-granthatrayam* (Singhī Jaina Granthamālā, No. 12, Ahmedabad 1939), not only a new work of Akalaṅka has been brought to light but also a good deal of fresh information about Akalaṅka's age and method of exposition is put forth by Pt. Mahendrakumar in his learned Introduction. Equally important is his edition of

Nyāyakumudacandra (Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, Vols. 38-39, Bombay 1938-41). The text is presented with valuable comparative notes which testify to the deep study of the Editor in the wide range of Indian Nyāya literature. The two Introductions, one by Pt. Kailashchandra and the other by Pt. Mahendrakumar, are rich contributions quite valuable for the new wealth of material and the fresh outlook. Pt. Sukhalalaji of the Benares Hindu University is a rare genius, and his all-round mastery of Indian Nyāya literature is remarkable. His outlook is fresh, his analysis is searching, and his penetration is deep. His comprehension evokes admiration, though one may differ from him on some points. We owe to him and his colleagues two nice editions, *Jaina Tarkabhāṣā* and *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* (Singhī Jaina Series, Ahmedabad 1939). The material that has come out through these volumes would require us to re-estimate many of our views about the medieval Indian logic. In representing the Pūrvapakṣa views these Jaina texts show remarkable impartiality; and, as observed by Winternitz, their philosophical discussions are of great value to us in studying Indian philosophy. It is necessary that some of these texts should be carefully translated into English. Lately the smaller edition of *Sanmati Tarka* in Gujarātī by Pts. Sukhalal and Becharadas has been translated into English by Profs. Athavale and Gopani (Bombay 1939).

Some of the Buddhist logical texts were known to us only through their Tibetan translations and references. But through the zealous explorations of Tripitakācārya Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana many Sanskrit texts have once more reached the land of their birth; and he has already edited, partly or completely, texts like *Pramāṇavārtika* (with its commentaries) *Vādanyāya* etc. Lately attempts have been made to restore the Sanskrit text of *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and *Uṛtti* of Dinnāga from the Tibetan and Chinese versions (Adyar L. B., III, pts. 2-3) by N. Aiyaswami Shastri with whose edition of *Bhavasamkrāntisūtram* of Nāgārjuna (Madras 1938) we are already acquainted. *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* of Vasubandhu, Sanskrit text and Tibetan version, is edited with English translation by Sujitkumar Mukherjee (Viśva-bhārati, 1939). The English translation of *Tattvasaṃgraha* was recently completed by Dr. Ganganath Jha in the G. O. S. (Vols. 80-83, Baroda 1937-39). The text and translation of this important work have added to the dignity of G. O. S. which has now assumed the form of a miniature Oriental Library. Important problems from this text have been lately studied by A. Kunst in his *Problems der Buddhistischen Logik in der Darstellung des Tattvasaṃgraha* (Kraków 1939),

Due to the religious injunction of Śāstradāna, the studious zeal of the ascetic community and the liberal patronage of rich laymen, we have in India many Jaina Bhaṇḍāras which on account of their old, authentic and valuable literary treasures deserve to be looked upon as a part of our national wealth. Mss. are such a stuff that they cannot be replaced if they are once lost altogether. We know the names of many works from references and citations, but their Mss. are not found anywhere. To the historian of literature Mss. are

valuable beyond measure. Jaina authors, both in the North and South, did not confine to religious literature alone, but they enriched by their works, both literary and scientific, different departments of Indian learning. As such, Jaina Bhaṇḍāras are rich treasures requiring patient study at the hands of the Indologist. There was a time when the communal orthodoxy came in the way of opening these treasures to the world of scholars, but now the conditions are almost changed. Through the efforts of a series of scholars like Buhler, Kielhorn, Bhandarkars, Kathawate, Peterson, Weber, Leumann, Mitra, Keith, Dalal-Gandhi, Velankar, Hiralal, Kapadia and others, we possess to-day various Descriptive Catalogues which are highly useful in taking a survey of different branches of Jaina literature. *Bḥaṭṭippanikā* and *Jaina Granthāvali* were some of the preliminary and cursory attempts to take a consolidated view of Jaina literature as a whole. Prof. H. D. Velankar has compiled the *Imaratnakośa*, *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Jaina Mss., which is in the Press. It is being published by the B. O. R. I., Poona; and we earnestly hope that it might be out within a year or so. It is a magnificent performance of major importance; and Prof. Velankar has achieved single-handed what an institution alone would have dared to undertake. When published, it will give a fresh orientation to all the studies in Jaina literature. 'A revision of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* has been undertaken by the Madras University; and according to the present plan it is proposed to include 'all such literature, Jaina or Buddhistic, in Sanskrit or Prākṛit, as would facilitate one's view of ancient Indian cultural developments'. The provisional fasciculus shows that important references to critical discussions are also included. The plan is really praiseworthy. With the help of this work Jaina literature can be studied with much more precision in the grand perspective of Indian literature. Though the field is thus being circumscribed, there are still important Bhaṇḍāras at Idar, Nagaur, Jaipur, Bikaner and other places which are not as yet duly inspected; and there are no authentic reports of the Mss. collections of the South in places like Moodbidri, Humch, Varanga, Karkal etc., where piles of palm-leaf Mss. are preserved.

Because of their antiquity and authenticity these collections afford material for various lines of study. Some of the old Devanāgarī Mss. at Jaipur, Patana, Jessalmere, Poona and Karanja go back to the 12th century A. D. By selecting a series of Mss., with definite dates and localities, it may be possible for us to prepare a sketch of the evolution of Devanāgarī alphabets from period to period; and thus it would be possible to supplement the tables already prepared by Ojha and Buhler from inscriptions. These Mss. have attracted the attention of some scholars. The Introduction of Muni Punyavijayaji to the *Jaina Citā Kalpadrūma* (Ahmedabad 1935) is a solid contribution on the paleography and calligraphy so far as the Mss. from Gujārāta are concerned. Prof. H. R. Kapadia also has discussed some of these topics lately in his papers: *Outlines of Paleography* and *The Jaina Mss.* (JUB. VI, part 2, VII, part 2). The material for the study of miniature painting from these Mss. is partly used by Brown, Nawab and others. With regard to Jaina

cave paintings there is a recent publication, *Sittannurval, An album of the rock-cut Jaina cave temple and its painting*, by L. Ganesh Sharma of Pudukottah state.

The Mss., many of which are dated, contain a good deal of chronological material which, apart from its being highly valuable for the ecclesiastical history of the medieval and post-medieval Jaina church, is often useful in fixing and confirming the dates of Indian history. Though they are not found in every Ms., there are three types of Prasastis: first, the Prasasti of the author which gives many details about himself, his spiritual genealogy, when and for whom he wrote the work etc.; second, the Lekhaka-prasasti which gives information about the copyist and for whom he copied etc.; and lastly, the Prasasti of the donor which gives some facts about his family and about the monk etc. to whom the Ms. was given as a gift. Such information is more plenty in the Mss. from Gujarāt and central India than in those from Karnāṭaka and Tamil territory. Lately a bulky volume of Lekhaka-prasastis has been published from Ahmedabad; and if an exhaustive attempt is made, many more such volumes can be easily brought out. The admirable collection '*Sources of Karnāṭaka History*, Vol. I' (Mysore 1940) compiled by Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri shows that even in piecing together the information of Indian history, partly or as a whole, the Prasastis of Jaina authors form a valuable source. If these are duly co-ordinated and studied in comparison with the Pratimā-lekhas, plenty of which are found inscribed on Jaina images and many of which are published also, and with other Jaina inscriptions, not only would new facts come to light, but well-known facts would also get inter-related; and we shall get very good results in our chronological studies. It is by such interlinking of detached pieces of information that the age of the famous Mss. of *Dhavalā* could be determined and the identity of Malli Bhūpāla could be spotted. To-day it is a game of luck; but this factor of chance has to be eliminated by preparing exhaustive Indices of names etc., for all these sources on the model of Guérinot's *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Jaina*. The chronological material that we get from Prasastis and Inscriptions is very valuable; and sometimes the dates have been found to be so definite that one often feels that Whitney's oft-quoted remark that all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again, though true in 1879, requires to be uttered with certain reservations now.

Rice, Narasimbachar, Guérinot, Saletore and other scholars have fruitfully worked on the Jaina inscriptions which shed important light on the different aspects of Jainism and often refer to contemporary rulers etc. The inscriptions on the Jaina images and in the temples, many of which have been brought to light by Buddhisagaraji, Jinavijayaji, Nahar, Kamtaprasad and others, are every useful in literary chronology, because they generally mention outstanding contemporary teachers who are often authors themselves. The Jaina inscriptions from the *Epigraphia Carnatica* have proved very fruitful in reconstructing the rôle of Jainism in Karnāṭaka: and this is borne out by two latest publications, namely, *Mediaeval Jainism* (Bombay 1938) by Dr. B. A.

Saletore and *Jainism and Kannaṭaka Culture* (Dharwar 1940) by Prof. S. R. Sharma.

The monograph on the Kannaḍa Inscriptions of Koppāl, published by the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. Nizam's Government, has given us a rich specimen of the Jaina inscriptions plenty of which, it is reported, are found scattered all over the area of this dominion. The department is working under the liberal patronage of H. E. H. the Nizam and its activities are conducted by a veteran archaeologist, Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, the worthy President of our Conference; so I have every hope that many more Jaina inscriptions from this area would be brought to light in the near future.

From the inscriptions found in places like Deogarh and the records actually published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, it appears that many Jaina inscriptions, which are not of outstanding importance in reconstructing the political history of the land, still lie in the archives of the Government departments of Archaeology and Epigraphy. We can understand the difficulty of publishing all the records, at an early date, by these Departments, especially when we know that the Government have always a step-motherly attitude in financing such academic departments as archaeology and epigraphy. Under such circumstances, it is in the interest of Oriental studies that those records, which are not being published officially, might be made available to bonafide scholars who are interested in Jaina inscriptions and are working in institutions like the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay etc. Many of these records, though not very important for the political history of the country, may give valuable clues in identifying authors and places in Jaina literature. Moreover they may help us in reconstructing the history of Jainism in different localities.

Just as Dr. Bhandarkar has brought upto date and revised the lists of inscriptions compiled by Kielhorn, it is quite necessary that some scholar, who is working in a centre where archaeological and epigraphic publications are easily accessible, should try to bring upto date and revise the monumental publication of Guérinot noted above. Since 1906 many records have come to light in different parts of the country; and the rich wealth of facts from them cannot be adequately used in the absence of such a work. An upto date resumé of all the published Jaina inscriptions would immensely advance the cause of Jaina studies.

Jaina Iconography is an important aspect of the ancient Indian iconographic art. In spite of the large number of Jaina images in the temples of the North and South and the rich theoretical material available in the Jaina texts, somehow the study of Jaina Iconography is still in its infancy. Yet, one is glad to note that some important work has been done in the last few years. Details may require verification and correction, but an outline is lately attempted by Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya in *The Jaina Iconography* (Lahore 1939). Noteworthy are some of the latest contributions on this subject by Dr. H. D.

Sankalia, viz., *Jaina Iconography* (NIA, II, 8); *Jaina Yakṣas Yakṣiṇīs*; The so-called Buddhist Images from the Baroda State (Bulletin of the Deccan College R. I., I, 2-4); The story in stone of the great Renunciation of Neminātha (IHQ XVII, part 2); An unusual form of a Jaina Goddess; and A Jaina Gaṇeśa of Brass (Jaina A., IV, p. 84 ff, V, p. 49 ff.). Mr. U. P. Shaha of Baroda is working under Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Oriental Institute, Baroda, on the subject of Jaina Iconography. He has collected a good deal of information from the original sources, and his book is awaiting publication. He has already published a few important papers on this topic: *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā* and *The Jaina Sarasvatī* (JUB, Arts Nos. 1940-41). Dr. V. S. Agrawal has explained some iconographic terms from Jaina inscriptions (Jaina A, V, p. 43 ff.). Mr. K. K. Ganguli's note on the Jaina Images in Bengal (IC, VI, ii, p. 137 ff.) rightly shows that this part of the country needs more 'scrutinising exploration. In a refreshing article 'Jainism and the Antiquities of Bhaṭkaḷ' (*Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province* for 1939-40, Dharwar 1941, p. 81 ff.). Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, Director of Kannada Research, has passingly touched some aspects of Jaina Iconography. Apart from some of his unauthentic generalisations, he has given a connected account of Jainism in the South and has brought to light some new images from Bhaṭkaḷ and other places which were once the cultural centres of Jainism. In studying Jaina Iconography, the growth of Jaina pantheon and the origin and evolution of image-worship in Jainism should be treated as independent subjects, to begin with, with a historical perspective. Because these two problems get intermingled at a later date, we should not start by confusing them from the beginning. The studies are still in their infancy; we should carefully note all parallelisms in the fields of Hindu, Buddhistic and Jaina iconography; and without adequate evidence we should not be eloquent in asserting borrowal from one side or the other.

It may look strange, but it is a fact that though the material was available on the Indian soil, the credit of the pioneer work of assessing its value and interpreting its significance to the modern world goes to Western scholars, especially the great savants working in the Indological departments of European Universities. Many of them were inspired by a zeal for learning and scientific study quite characteristic of the last century. For decades together, the march of Sanskrit and Prākṛit studies was led by German scholars of great repute. They have given excellent methods to us, and they are like ideals to us to inspire us by their patient labour, scrutinising system, methodical thoroughness and maturity of judgment. Our traditional methods require rejuvenation in the light of the progress of Oriental studies in the West. At present we are passing through a transitional period. The old generation of veteran Indologists is fast disappearing in the Western Universities; the materialistic forces let loose under the auspices of nationalistic madness are destroying whatever little good was there in the Western civilization and culture; the younger generation has not got that mental quiet; and there is such an all-round obsession due to the cataclysms in domestic affairs

that hereafter the attention of Western scholars towards Indian studies is sure to disappear gradually. In India, on the other hand, there is national awakening everywhere; and many scholars are devoting their time to the study of different branches of Indology. I have the highest respect for all that the Western savants have done for Indian studies. But we too have to be alive to our duties towards our ancestors who have left to posterity the great heritage of literature. Our ancient centres of learning like Nālandā and Takṣaṣilā did attract students from abroad. That reputation has to be recovered once again. It is in the fitness of things that Sanskrit and Prākṛit studies have to be carried on by Indian scholars at the front. Our ancient ideals must be pursued according to modern methods. What is needed is strenuous and methodical labour coupled with earnest devotion and singleness of purpose. The sons of that land that produced Pāṇini and Hemacandra need not be despondent: only they have to put forth skilled and organised work as the time requires to-day. In later years some new Institutions have come into existence; and their aims and activities, so far as they are connected with this section, might be reviewed here.

The Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute has been started under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. Remembering the great traditions of Sanskrit learning associated with the Deccan College, the zeal with which this Institute has been started and the fact that it has been founded in a prominent educational centre like Poona, there are reasons to hope that it would soon establish itself as a research centre of an all-India repute with its eminent Professors leading the front of Indological studies in various lines. The departments, so far opened, do testify to a comprehensive outlook; but one fails to understand how the Bombay Government and its advisers omitted to assign a chair for Prākṛitic languages along with those of Linguistics and Sanskrit. It is a gap that is detrimental to an all-sided study of Indian literature and comes like a reversal of the long-standing and well-planned policy of the Government of Bombay. For decades together valuable Prākṛit Mss. were collected by the Bombay Government and now they are deposited in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. This is one of the richest treasures of Prākṛit Mss. Important Prākṛit texts were edited by Pandit and others and published in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prākṛit Series. Valuable Reports were compiled by Peterson, Bhandarkar and others; and they were published directly or indirectly under the Government patronage. After collecting such valuable material and doing so much spade-work, the Government and its advisers should have assigned a separate Department for Prākṛit studies. Still it is not too late to fill this gap. The Bulletin of the Institute (Vol. I) contains the following papers connected with this section: H. D. Sankalia: Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis and the so-called Buddhist Images from the Baroda State; S. M. Katre: The Roots of the Pāli Dhātupāṭhas; M. A. Mehendale: Tākki or Dhakki; R. D. Laddu: The Prākṛit stanzas in the *Kavindīa-candrodaya*. Some of the papers connected with Prākṛitic languages

testify to the fact that there is much unworked material in Prākritis and that, consequently, there is a need of a special department for Prākritis.

Virasevāmandira of Sarsawa (Dt. Saharanpur) is an academic enterprise of Pt. Jugalkishore intended to be a centre for research in Jaina literature. We have in him a first-rate living authority on various problems connected with Jaina literary chronology. Under his editorship the Mandira issues a Hindī monthly, which has published a good deal of valuable material in the last two years. Pt. Jugalkishore has discussed many important topics: The relative age of Kundakunda and Yativṛṣabha (II. 3 ff.); Earlier glosses on the *Bhagavati Ārādhana* (II. 57 ff.); Pūjyapāda and his works (II. 400 ff.; 443 ff.); *Tattvārthasūtra* of Prabhācandra (III. 394 ff., 433 ff.); and *Pingala* of Rājamalla (IV. 245 ff., 303 ff.). Pt. Paramanandaji is doing very useful work, and some of his contributions have brought important facts to light; some of his important articles are: Kundakunda and *Mūlācāra* (II. 222 ff., 319 ff.); *Bhagavati Ārādhana* and *Vijayodayā* (II. 371 ff., 437 ff.); *Pañcasamgraha*, *Gōmṣasāra* and the *Karmaprakṛti* (III. 256 ff., 279 ff., 378 ff., 537 ff.); Siddhasena's indebtedness to the *Sarvārthasiddhi* (III. 629 ff.); and on the seeds of the *Tattvārthasūtra* (IV. 17 ff.). Pt. Mahendrakumar has discussed the date of Prabhācandra (II. 61 ff., 215 ff., VI. 124 ff.) and has brought to light the Ms. of *Satyasāsanapariṣā* of Vidyānanda (III. 660 ff.). Mr. Agarchand Nahta is doing useful work on the Mss. from Rājputānā, and he has written on the following topics: Various works on the life of Śrīpāla (II. 155 ff., 428 ff.); Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras (II. 543 ff.); and Padmasundara and his works (IV. 470 ff.). The discussions of Pt. Jugalkishore (II. 485 ff., 685 ff.); Pt. Dipachanda Pandya (II. 611 ff.) and Pt. Premi (II. 666 ff.) have fully brought to light not only a complete Ms. of *Jagatsundariyogamālā*, a medico-tāntric text in Prākrit, but also a good deal of information about it and its relation with *Jonipāhuḍa*. An informative article of Muni Chaturavijaya on Bhadrabāhu is translated into Hindī (III. 678 ff.). Pt. Premi in some of his articles has brought new facts to light and in others supplemented his earlier discussions: Researches into Yāpaniya literature (III. 59 ff.) *Āśādhara* (III. 669 ff., 695 ff.); Śricandra and Prabhācandra (IV. 82); and Mahākavi Puṣpandanta (IV. 403 ff.). Whether Akalaṅka is indebted to *Tattvārtha-bhāṣya* has been discussed with much fervour by Prof. Jagadish-chandra, Pt. Jugalkishore and others (III. 304 ff., 623 ff., 666 ff., 728 ff.). When the sentiments ebb away, the facts will clearly stand out; and the dispassionate student would be able to pick them up in their proper perspective after some time. Prof. Hiralal has given his observations on the *Pañcasamgraha* and the *Karmaprakṛti* (III. 409 ff., 636 ff.).

The Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay, owes its existence to the academic zeal of Śrī K. M. Munshi and the liberal patronage of Sheth Goenka. It aims to be an association which will organise active centres where ancient Aryan learning is studied and where modern Indian culture is provided with a historical back-ground. Through the munificence of different donors, the

Institution is equipped with various departments; and we are glad to note that besides Sanskrit and comparative Philology, a department of Prākṛit languages also has been organised. We may entertain legitimate hopes that the Institution will be a guiding centre for the study of Sanskrit and Prākṛit philology and the history of Prākṛit literature for which rich material lies neglected in the Bhaṇḍāras of Western India. In the near future it should be possible for this Institute to equip the departments of Philology, Prākṛitic languages and Jainism with ready accessories in the form of select topical bibliographies, card indexes for Journals and books, critical summaries of important papers in magazines etc., so that the Institute might become an useful bureau of information for Oriental scholars, working in these subjects, all over the world. Thus the need of a central organisation for co-ordinating the results of research-workers, so far as Jainism and Prākṛits are concerned, might be partly fulfilled.

This Institute has started publishing a Series of works, the first volume of which is the *Visuddhimagga* edited in Devanāgarī characters in a nice form by Śrī Dharmananda Kosambi by whose labours this edition occupies a distinct place among the Pāli texts. Further it conducts two Journals; one biennial in English and the other, a quarterly in Hindi-Gujarātī. In the last two volumes of the English journal we have the following contributions connected with this section. A. S. Gopani: Characteristics of Jainism (I. 168 ff.); Aṣṭvika sect, a new Interpretation (II. 201 ff., III. 47 ff.); and *Riṣṭasamuccaya* (being published as a supplement). Jinavijayaji: *Kuvalayamālā* (II. 77 ff., 211 ff.). S. M. Katre: A New Approach to the Study of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan (I. 135 ff.) and Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan (II. 220 ff.). Kosambi: On the Life of Buddhaghoṣa (I. 113 ff.). P. T. Raju: Nāgārjuna's Conception of the Sūnya (II. 43 ff.). V. S. Sukthankar: The Position of Linguistic Studies in India (II. 23 ff.). A. N. Upadhye: Gōmmaṭa (III. 48 ff.), *Vālmikisūtra*, a Myth (II. 160 ff.) and *Siricimdhakavvaṃ* of Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka (III. 61 ff.). In the Hindi-Gujarātī quarterly we may note the following articles. Bechardas: Etymology of some Sanskrit and Prākṛit Words (I. 381 ff.). M. D. Desai: A Jaina Gurvāvali in old-Gujarātī prose written in Saṃvat 1482 (I. 133 ff.). Jinavijayaji: The Royal saint Kumārapāla (I. 221 ff.). M. C. Modi: Svayambhū and Tribhuvana Svayambhū, the two Apabhraṃśa poets (I. 157 ff., 253 ff.). S. M. Nawab: Old Jaina Images from Gujarāt (I. 179 ff.). Sukhalalaji: *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* of Hemacandra (I. 9 ff.). The latest number gives two important supplements; *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali Rāsa*, the earliest Gujarātī poem and the first forme of Abdul Rahamān's *Samdeśa Rāsaka* in Apabhraṃśa, both of which are edited by Śrī Jinavijayaji.

The Jaina Vidyā Bhavana is lately founded at Lahore 'with the object of creating a centre of Jaina studies'. A comprehensive programme is chalked out for advancing Jaina studies which are 'quite indispensable for a full understanding of India's past'. The programme includes the 'reconstruction of a comprehensive history of Jainism' which, as far as I know, has not

been undertaken by any Institution. Of this there is an urgent need; and the Bhavana can co-operate with Bhāratiya Itihāsa Pariṣad, Benares, in completing the 3rd volume of the National History of India planned by the latter. The first number of the *Jaina Vidyā*, the Anglo-Hindī Quarterly of the Bhavana, contains some important articles. A. M. Ghatage: The title Mūlasūtra. M. D. Desai: Some Farmans granted by Akbar to the Jainas. P. K. Gode: The Date of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* between A. D. 1150–1170. Becharadas: The various Names of Mahāvira (in Hindī). With the co-operation of Motilal Banarasidas and Meharchand Lacchmanadas it should be possible for this Journal to publish an up-to-date list of published Jaina works month to month.

The Jaina Research Society, Delhi, and C. P. Berar Jaina Research Institute, Yeotmal, are some of the latest Institutions, but as yet we are not fully acquainted with the work carried on by them.

I have referred to the activities of some of the latest Institutions so far as they come under this section. The rise of these Institutions is quite in tune with the spirit of the time. Further it is necessary that everyone of these Institutions in consultation and co-operation with others, old as well as new, should see that there is no duplication of work and no waste of labour. Specialisation, so far as it is practicable, is necessary on the part of these Institutions so that all of them together may contribute to the advancement of knowledge in different branches of Indology. Luckily much work has been done in the fields of Pāli and Buddhism. But in contrast to the wealth of material and the problems that face us in Prākritic and Jaina studies the number of serious workers in the field has been unfortunately very small.

There was a time when the Jaina texts were not easily accessible: and naturally the writers on Indian philosophy had to satisfy their thirst for a review of Jaina philosophy from the Pūrvapakṣa given in non-Jaina works. Apparently this method has its defects, and we have to correct and clarify our notions in the light of the Jaina texts themselves. The atomic theory in the early Jaina texts, the relation between Jainism and Sāṃkhya, Jaina epistemology and other topics are touched upon here and there; but detailed investigations are still to be carried out. That the Jaina texts supply interesting details in the study of different branches of Indian philosophy is abundantly clear by the discussions of Prof. J. Sinh (*Indian Psychology: Perception*, London 1934). It is necessary that the material from the canon and the works of Akalaṅka etc., should be thoroughly analysed. Some articles have appeared on these topics lately: Jaina theory of knowledge and Error etc., by Prof. Bhattacharya (Jaina A. IV. i, also V p. 21 ff.); Mind in Jaina Philosophy by Prof. S. C. Ghoshal (Ibidem V, p. 75 ff.); etc.

Winternitz's outline of Jaina literature in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, and Schubring's survey of the Jaina doctrines in his *Die Lehre der Jainas* are phenomenal landmarks in the progress of Jaina studies. It was very unfortunate that Winternitz did not live to revise his third volume;

and his last contribution on the subject was 'The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature' in the IC, I. 2. Such works are to be compiled after extensive studies by specialists in different topics of the field; but here, thanks to the insight and industry of these two veteran Indologists, these monumental works are composed much earlier than expected. These are excellent guides for all further study; but by these we should not understand that the survey of the field is over and that very little remains to be done now. In one of his letters (Dated Nov. 19, 1935) the late lamented Dr. Winternitz himself wrote to me thus: "you are perfectly right in saying in your Preface that my account of Jaina literature in my *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, only 'shows how much more remains to be done'. In fact, I have made it throughout a point in my 'History' to draw special attention to the—alas, so numerous—unsolved problems and open questions in the history of Indian literature, which are left to be struggled with and if possible solved by those who come after me." This is equally true, though to a less extent, with regard to Schubring's work in the *Grundriss*. These savants were concerned more with an outline survey than with the detailed study of individual texts, the latter being still an urgent desideratum in Jaina literature. Bits of new information about various authors and works are coming to light in various Journals and in the Descriptive catalogues published in the G. O. S. and by the B. O. R. I., Poona, in connection with Jaina literature. We cannot afford to remain satisfied all along with those sketchy remarks expressed by Peterson and others on their first discovery of these texts some of which are now published also. We can hardly say that texts like the *Yasastilakacampū* are fully studied. Dr. Sen's dissertation on the *Praśnavyākaraṇāṅga* shows that there is ample scope for an exhaustive study of individual works. This has been approved of by Dr. Schubring and is published after his book. To advance our studies in Jaina literature, the individual works and authors have to be studied critically in the back-ground of Indian literature as a whole. It is on account of the absence of such earlier studies that some sections in the survey of Winternitz read like lists of authors and works. Plenty of Mss. are available (in the case of majority of books) for a text-critic; and these Sanskrit and Prākṛit texts, if studied in detail, unfold new facts which enrich our knowledge of Indian life and culture in their manifold aspects.

In the last ten years many important works connected with our section have seen the light of day; and many eminent editors are working with the avowed aim of advancing the studies. We might note here passingly a few important publications of the last two or three years. Herr Kohl's *Die Sūyaprañāpti* (Stuttgart 1937), besides presenting to us the text of this much neglected work of the Ardhamaṅgadhi canon, brings out the relation between the *Sūu-*, *Jambuddiva-* and *Caṁda-pañatti*. The author postulates the existence of an original gāthā-text from which these three works derive themselves. In the light of the outline of Jaina cosmography which Dr. Kirfel has exhaustively given to us, this text may be studied now in comparison with other Jaina cosmographical texts like *Tiloyapañatti* (a portion of which has

been edited by me, Arrah 1941, and I have a complete ed. with Hindi translation on hand which is in the Press) and *Jambūdvīpaprājñaptisaṃgraha* (IHQ. XIV, p. 188 ff.). On account of Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri* (Leipzig 1886) which, with Konow's *Karpū amāñjari*, formed the first lessons in Prākṛit for many Oriental scholars, Devendra's *Sukhabodhā* commentary, from which Jacobi collected these stories, acquired immortal fame among Prākṛitists. We are happy that a good edition of this commentary has been made available now (Ahmedabad 1938). These illustrative stories are typically representative of the medieval Jaina narrative literature of which ornate Prākṛit specimens are found in standard works like the *Samarāṭccakāhā* and *Mahāvīracariya*.

Muni Sri Nyayavijayaji is one of those few gifted monks who can fluently compose original works both in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. His *Ajjhatta-tattālo* (Jamnagar 1938) fully testifies to his grip over the Prākṛit expression, and, besides, gives a vigorous exposition of the pious ideals of life. With its valuable Introduction and useful indices, Pt. Becharadasa's edition of *Rāyapa-senaiyasutta* (Ahmedabad Saṃ. 1994) fairly surpasses the earlier editions. Many Jaina works are known only by their names; and if a careful search in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras is made, there is every possibility of tracing some of them. *Varāṅgacarita* and its author, though often referred to by many authors, had fallen into oblivion. But this work has been lately brought to light (Bombay 1938) and also critically studied in the back-ground of Sanskrit literature. Its author Jaṭāsīmhanandi flourished about the close of the 7th century A. D., and it is one of the early Sanskrit Purāṇic Kāvya.

Lately some four works (Nos. 41-44) are published by the Jinadatta-sūri Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Pydhoni, Bombay. The first is the *Sāmācārīśatakam* which contains Samayasundara's exposition in Sanskrit of one hundred debatable points connected with the mode of life of both monks and householders of the Jaina community. The second is the *Kalpalatā* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* to which Prof. H. D. Velankar has contributed a learned Introduction in English giving an important list of commentaries and glosses (with significant details about their authors and age) on the *Kalpasūtra*. The third is the *Gāthāsahasri* of Samayasundara which is an anthology of Sanskrit and Prākṛit passages dealing with religious topics. Besides a large number of Jaina texts, a few non-Jaina works like the *Mahābhārata*, *Manusmṛiti* etc., are also quoted. There is an introduction in Gujarātī by Mr. M. B. Jhaveri; and it gives all that we want to know about the author, his works and the contents of the present text. The fourth publication is the *Vidhimārgaprapā* which presents an able exposition of the duties of laymen and monks especially as accepted by the Kharataragaccha. It contains a good deal of useful information for a student of Jaina literature. Various discussions, mostly in simple Prākṛit prose with occasional quotations from canonical texts, clearly indicate Jinaprabhasūri's depth of learning and facility of expression. The text is very well edited by Prof. Jinavijayaji who has spared no pains in making the edition

worthy of its author. The editorial introduction gives a summary of the contents; and Śrī Nahatas have added a detailed biography of Jinaprabhasūri who was not only a deep scholar but also an outstanding personality that wielded a good deal of influence on Muhammad Tughluq. Recently Prof. N. V. Vaidya has given to us the entire text of *Nāyādhammakahāo* (Poona 1940) with variant readings in a handy volume.

Among the latest Pāli and Buddhist publications mention may be made of the *Paramatthadīpani* of Dhammapāla on the *Cariyāpīṭaka* edited by D. L. Barua (PTS, London 1939); *Saddhammapajjotikā* of Upatissa on the *Mahā-niddesa*, Vol. II, edited by A. P. Buddhadatta (PTS, London 1939); *Manoratha-pūraṇi* on the *Anguttaranikāya*, Vol. 4, ed. by H. Kopp (PTS, London 1940); and *Paramatthadīpani*, on the *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. by F. L. Woodward, Vol. I. (PTS, London 1940). With regard to Mahāyāna and Sanskrit texts we have lately *La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga* by Etienne Lamotte (Louvain 1939) which is a remarkable contribution to our knowledge of Mahāyāna Buddhism; *Bruchstücke des Ājānāṭikasūtra aus dem Zentralasien* *Sanskrit-Kanon der Buddhisten* by H. Hoffman (Leipzig 1939); *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Buddhist Sk. Texts, Vol. I, by N. Dutt, Śrīnagara 1939. As to the translations and other accessories of study we have lately the English translation of *Buddharimsa* and *Cariyāpīṭaka* by Dr. B. C. Law in 'The Minor Anthologies of Pāli canon' (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, No. 9, pt. 3, London 1938) and so also 'Manual of Buddhist Historical Tradition (*Saddhammasaṅgraha*)' by the same author (Calcutta 1941).

The Roman script has decided advantages in reproducing Indo-Aryan words in grammatical and linguistic discussions. But for an average Indian student, the Sanskrit or Prākṛit texts, printed in continuous roman characters, present a good deal of difficulty for study. Naturally many of our students feel the need of Devanāgarī editions of Pāli works published by the PTS. The University of Bombay has already started a Devanāgarī Pāli Text Series in which *Milindapañho* (Bombay 1940) is lately brought forth by Prof. R. D. Vadekar. As the first volume of the newly started Bhandarkar Oriental Series Prof. R. D. Vadekar has edited in Devanāgarī *Pātimokkha* (Poona 1939); and the second volume is represented by the sumptuous Devanāgarī edition of *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (Poona 1940) by Dr. P. V. Bapat and Prof. Vadekar.

It was exactly ten years back that the Singhī Jaina Series was started through the enlightened liberality of Bahu Bahaddur Singhji Singhī of Calcutta and the scholarly forethought of Prof. Jinavijayaji. Within this short period of a decade a dozen sumptuous volumes have been published and nearly an equal number of important works is under preparation: this success of the Mālā is remarkable and unique. Prof. Jinavijayaji is a gifted editor of great experience; and under his general editorship these volumes are prepared to fulfil the needs of critical scholarship; and they meet a real want of Indology. Some of them are fresh additions to the published stock of Indian literature. Among the latest publications of the Mālā, I have already

referred to the Nyāya works like the *Akalaṅka-granthatrayam* etc. above. The *Prabhāvākacarita* of Prabhācandra is a store-house of traditional information about some of the eminent Jaina authors, and its composition too is characterised by some literary flavour. The text is critically edited by Śrī Jinavijaya himself; and this edition far surpasses the earlier edition (Bombay 1909) with regard to the authenticity and the presentation of the text. The four volumes of the Singhī Jain Series, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, *Prabandhakōśa*, *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* and *Prabhāvaka-carita*, present a thesaurus of Jaina tradition carefully and earnestly collected by ancient teachers; and now it is for the critical historian to sort out solid facts and co-ordinate them with corresponding events known from other sources. The latest publication in the Series is the *Bhānucandracarita* of Siddhicandra. It is an unique work in Sanskrit literature. It is not only a biography of the teacher Bhānucandra but also an autobiography of the pupil Siddhicandra. Quite vividly he narrates "how he became an object of Akbar's filial love, how he stood by the side of his Guru as his co-worker in rendering social services, how he enjoyed the favour of Jahangir and afterwards fell a victim to his displeasure and finally how he passed through the ordeal for the sake of his vows and religion without being scared away by exile, imprisonment or death". Dalal, Smith and others had already touched the topic of the Jaina teachers at the court of Akbar. The exhaustive Introduction of this volume, however, completely supersedes earlier discussions. Mr. M. D. Desai, with his usual indefatigable energy and rare erudition, has contributed a solid Introduction in which he has systematically collected a vast range of information that fully depicts the position of Bhānucandra and others in the Mughul court and their literary activities. The discussion is so well planned that it serves as a good back-ground for the history of Jainism under the two great Mughuls. The Prasastis, Farmans and the Appendices have a great documentary value. The *Bhānucandra-carita* with its learned Introduction of Mr. M. D. Desai is a distinct addition to the historical chronicles of Sanskrit literature.

Despite the financial difficulties the Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Grantha-mālā has lately published *Nyāyakumudacandra* I-II and *Mahāpurāṇa* I-III which have been already referred to. The Ātmānanda Sabha has issued the Vols. 4 and 5 of the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* edited by Śrī Chaturavijaya and Punyavijaya. The Jaina Śāstramālā Kāryālaya, Lahore, has published some of the canonical texts like the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Uttarādhyaṇa* etc. with Sanskrit chāyā, word-for-word meaning, mūlārtha etc. in Hindī in luxurious volumes. These may be useful in popularising the canon among the Hindī-knowing readers, but we would request the editors that the text could be presented more carefully and the interpretations could be offered more critically after taking into account the earlier studies. The *Āvaśyaka-niryukti-dīpikā* of Māṇikyasūri is lately published from Bhavanagar. The Jaina-grantha-prakāśa-sabhā of Ahmedabad is issuing in uniform size all the works of Haribhadra;

the first volume (Ahmedabad 1939) is already out and contains eleven texts *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya* etc. The newly started Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā has undertaken an edition of *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* with Hindī paraphrase.

The Sacred Books of the Jinas, the latest and the tenth volume of which is the *Gommaṣasāra* (Karmakāṇḍa) with English translation, part 2, (Lucknow 1937), was conceived by the late lamented D. P. Jain and later on well supported by the late lamented J. L. Jaini with a view to present the important Jaina texts with English translation. Unluckily the subsequent volumes have not reached the critical standard of the first volume, *Darvasaṃgaha*, so ably edited by Prof. S. C. Ghoshal. Most of the volumes do not use even diacritical marks for technical terms and names. The Series is soon issuing the *Āptaparikṣā* etc. with English translation; and if the organisers want these texts to be used by Oriental scholars for any research, it is necessary that their contents should be presented in an authentic and critical form.

The orientalists would be interested to learn that an Āgamamandira is being built at Palithana through the advice of Śrī Sāgarānanda Surīśvaraḥ. As far as I know, the plan is to inscribe the text of forty-five canonical works in stone on the walls etc., in this temple. It is also planned that the whole text of the Ardhmāgadhī canon should be inscribed on copper-plates and also printed on paper in an uniform size. This reminds us of Maṇḍum, the king of Burma, who inscribed the entire Tripiṭaka on slabs of stone.

Under the liberal patronage of rich laymen and through the encouragement of zealous monks, many Granthamālās, especially in Gujarāt, are bringing out many a text. Oriental scholars do appreciate their piety and zeal, but at the same time the organisers of the Mālās are to be requested that duplication of work should be avoided as far as possible. It is better that the major portion of the zeal should be diverted towards editing and publishing unpublished works. Some of these editions, may it be noted, have not reached our critical standards; but as first editions of unpublished texts, whose Mss. are not always within our easy reach, they are to be welcomed like the Sanskrit texts published in the Kāvya-mālā etc. Students of oriental learning can make the best use of these editions, how-so-ever imperfect they might be, by studying their contents in comparison with those of similar works already known to us. They contain fresh material which is not duly sorted, and no definite positions are assigned to these texts in our scheme of Indian literature.

The Jaina literature is found in various languages of India, both Āryan and Dravidian; the material lies scattered over different parts of the country; and to-day the results of researches are being published in various languages, both Indian and European. It is necessary for an active scholar to keep himself in touch with all that is being written on the subject, irrespective of the languages; it is a difficult task, but it has to be faced. We cannot ignore the valuable fresh material that is being brought to light, say, in magazines like

Anekānta, *Nāgari-pracārṇī Patrikā*, *Kannāḍa Sāhitya-parīṣat Patrikā* etc. It is necessary, therefore, that some scholars who are better equipped with the knowledge of more than one language should write Reviews of such articles and books, either in English or Hindī, so that these topics might fall within an all-India access. Books after books, some of them published for the first time, are coming out in different parts of the country ; but unfortunately there is no organ or organisation which takes note of all these publications for the benefit of scholars. I would appeal to the Editors of Journals that are more interested in Jaina and Prākritic studies to include notices of such publications in their Journals. Forthcoming publications may also be included to avoid duplication of work. If the Journals make a beginning, I do believe that Editors and Publishers, in their own interest, would co-operate with them. Thus alone the Jaina and Prākritic studies can march on in the ranks of Oriental learning.

We have many biographies of Buddha in different languages, but as yet no exhaustive attempt is made to pool together various bits of information scattered over the wide range of Buddhist and Jaina literature and to give an authentic and detailed biography of Mahāvīra. The latest brochure is that of Dr. B. C. Law. It gives me great pleasure to note that Muni Kalyana-vijayajī, with whose masterly monograph on the Jaina chronology we are already acquainted (*Nāgarīpracārīṇī-patrikā*, Vols. X & XI), has written a comprehensive biography of Mahāvīra in Hindī; and it would be published in the next few months. Lately Pt. Nathuram Premi, who has been a pioneer researcher, along with Pt. Jugalkishore, in the chronology of especially Digambara works, has put together his studies in a revised form; and his Hindi book *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* is a rich mine of information and references.

Buddhism is the professed religion of many countries in the East; naturally the Orientalist has to study Buddhism both in India and outside. The adventures of the spread of Buddhism not only in different parts of India but also of the whole globe are one of the most fascinating branches of Indological study; and the Greater India Society has done much useful work in this respect. Lately some studies are conducted both by way of fresh exploration and survey. Space prohibits me from summarising the results in details, so I would just list the important papers. Expansion of Buddhism in India and Abroad (NIA, II. 11, III. 1) by Dr. B. C. Law is a good account of the spread of Buddhism. The influence of Buddhism on Japanese culture is discussed by R. Sandilyan (*Young East*, Vol. 8, No. 2). Buddhist influence in Gujarāt and Kathiawār is reviewed by Mr. A. G. Gadre (*Journal of the Gujarāt R. Society*, Vol. I. No. 4). Jainism on the other hand is mostly confined to India, but no systematic and exhaustive attempt is made to survey its history in different parts of the country excepting perhaps Karnāṭaka and Gujarāta. The material being scattered all over India and in different languages of different ages, it is necessary that specialised monographs should

be prepared first, according to the locality and the political or literary period, before an all-India survey of the Jaina church can be confidently attempted. Lately some scholars have directed their attention to this aspect of study, and a few papers have been published. The Jains in Pudukottai State by K. R. Venkat Raman (*Journal of Oriental R.*, Madras, XIII, part 1); Jaina Tradition in Telugu by S. Lakshmipathi Shastri (*Annals of Oriental R.*, Madras Vol. IV, part 2); Jaina Religious Orders in the Kushan Period by B. N. Puri (*Journal of I. History*, XX, part I, Special Number April 1941); Jainism under the Muslim Rule by K. P. Jain (NIA, I. 8); New Studies in South-Indian Jainism by B. S. Rao (*Jaina A.*, V, p. 147 ff.; VI, p. 66 ff.; VII, p. 26 ff.). In this connection I might note that Prof. Hiralal has lately issued his earlier contributions in a book form, viz., *Jama Itihāsaki Pūrvapīṭhikā* (Bombay 1939).

Both Jainism and Buddhism have been subjected to various divisions in the church; some of them are doctrinal, some are social, and there are others which owe their origin to differences in the ascetic practices. The Jaina Saṃghas, Gaṇas, Gacchas etc., are not fully discussed as yet, though rich material is available in epigraphical and literary records. It is a difficult task, but dispassionate attempts have to be made. Lately Mr. K. P. Jain has written an article on the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Sects of Jainism (Kane Volume, p. 228 ff.). A good deal is done in this respect in the field of Buddhism, and we have some latest contributions also: Buddhist Tāntric literature of Bengal by S. K. De (NIA I, i); Doctrines of the Sammitiya School by N. K. Dutt (IHQ, XV, 1); *Lalitavistāra* and Sarvāstivāda by E. J. Thomas (IHQ, XVI, 2); Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika and Sarvāstivādin by J. Przyluski (IHQ, XVI, 2); etc.

Between the Pāli and the Ardhmāgadhī canons, the latter is not extensively studied as yet; and the material for cultural study therein is arousing interest very lately. Prof. K. P. Mitra has very ably touched various interesting topics such as Crime and Punishment, Magic and Miracle and the reference to Pāṇḍyas in the Jaina literature (IHQ, XV, parts 1-3). Prof. H. R. Kapadia has taken a review of the Jaina system of Education and has drawn upon different branches of Jaina literature (JUB, Vol. VIII, part 4). He is also reviewing the whole canon in his Gujarātī *Ārhata Agamonū Avalokana* (part 1, Surat 1939). Among the Buddhist works, the *Dhammasaṃgaṇi* has been studied afresh by Dr. Dutt for a further elucidation of the principal topics and the method of treatment adopted in it (IHQ, XV, part 3). The *Brahmacālasūtra* of Dighāgama has been translated into German by F. Weller (Woolner Vol., p. 260 ff.). The Jātakas have been a rich material for sociological study. Based on these we have lately the *Pre-Buddhist India* by R. N. Metha (Bombay 1939); and Dr. B. C. Law has given some observations on the same (JRAS, April 1939). Prof. Lüders has contributed a paper on Die Vidyādhara in der buddhistischen Literatur und Kunst (ZDMG, 93, part 1); while Dr. Alsdorf has made an equally interesting attempt to elucidate the idea of Vidyādhara and their abode in his article Zur Geschichte der Jaina Kosmographie und Mythologie (ZDMG, 92, parts 2-3, Leipzig 1938).

Asceticism plays an important rôle in Jainism and Buddhism, and in many respects it is a logical culmination of the highest spiritual and humanitarian principles preached by these religions. Though excellent lines of study are already indicated by Jacobi, Winternitz and others, the Jaina monachism is as good as not studied at all. The contents of voluminous work like *Bhagaṛatī Āradhanā* and *Bḥat-Kulpasūtra* are not examined at all with a view to study the practices of Jaina monks and their organisation. The picture of Indian monachism is incomplete, if the material from these sources is not utilised in its proper perspective. Lately Miss D. N. Bhagwat has contributed a good deal of discussion on Buddhist monachism (*Early Buddhist Jurisprudence*, Poona 1939; *Buddhist Monachism and post-Asokan Brāhmī Inscriptions* JUB, Vol. IX, part 2; and also *Origin of Indian Monachism*, JUB, Vol. VIII, part 2). The latest publication, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. I (Calcutta 1941) by Dr. N. Dutt, embraces a wider range of topics connected with Buddhism and the history of Buddhist thought.

It is a fact of which more than once the scholars have complained that the Jaina community has not much encouraged the critical study of Jaina texts. The Jaina community, like other communities in India, is orthodox and still caught in the old moulds of thought. Some of the publications do show that better sense is gradually prevailing and a bright future is visible. Mere publication of the texts is not an end in itself; in fact it is the beginning of study. It has to be accompanied or followed by critical and comparative study of their contents in their various aspects. Even though the Jaina community is indifferent in encouraging critical studies on modern lines, the orientalists cannot ignore their duty of studying the various facts of ancient Indian learning. Some sixty years back the late lamented Dr. H. Jacobi, when he visited Pāṭaṇa (Baroda) with Dr. Bühler, was not even allowed to see the books; but in 1914 he was given access to the famous Bhaṇḍāras; and to-day many of us are using Mss. and their transcripts from Pāṭaṇa through the courtesy of local authorities and pious monks like Śrī Punyavijayaji. It is a great change, and I do expect still greater changes. If orientalists turn more attention to the different branches of Jaina literature, many sections of Indian literature would be further enriched, thus adding a respectable dignity to Indian literature in the eye of World literature. The ultimate values which inspired Jinabhadra, Saṅghadāsa, Vīrasena-Jinasena or even Puṣpadanta to put forth their stupendous compositions are still there, but they may not necessarily appeal to us. But the rigorous toil in the field of learning gives a joy of scientific work; and when any positive result is achieved in one's field of study, there is some satisfaction for the humble worker, apart from the fact that the bounds of human knowledge are widened in the long run.

The Prākṛit dialects or the Middle Indo-Aryan languages in which Mahāvīra and Buddha preached their humanitarian principles, in which Asoka inscribed his memorable edicts, in which hundreds of poets (only a few names from whom have come down to us through Hālas collection and Svayambhū's references) jubilantly sang about the various aspects

of popular life, in which Kālidāsa's heroines wrote their letters, in which Vākpati, Pravarasena, Uddyotana, Haribhadra, Rājaśekhara, Svayambhū, Puṣpadanta, Guṇacandra, Rāma Pāṇivāda and others composed their ornate poetry and prose, in which saints like Joīndu and Kāṇha poured their mystic musings, in which the heroic songs of Rājput bards resounded the four corners of Āryāvarta, and on the laps of which grew the various Modern Indo-Aryan languages which we are struggling to enrich and of which we are so proud, cannot be ignored for a full understanding of Indian culture and civilization.

On account of the war, the great curse on humanity, which has plunged the whole of Europe into a fatal feud and is drenching the continent with blood, our relations with our co-workers abroad are severed; and naturally we have not been in touch with their studies, in the last two years, connected with this section. If I have failed to mention any of the important contributions of my colleagues at home, their value is not likely to be detracted by this unfortunate omission; but I feel sorry, and I offer my apologies to them, that I am ignorant of their learned studies due to poor library facilities at my disposal. I offer my sincere thanks to you all for the patient hearing that you have given me. All of us are working in the field of Indian literature which has evolved and stood as the champion of the highest humanitarian principles in thought, word and deed; and we are meeting here at a critical hour in the human history when the whole civilized world is overcast with clouds of war: so I cannot better conclude than with the prayer of Amitagati

सत्त्वेषु मैत्री गुणिषु प्रमोदं
 क्लिष्टेषु जीविषु कृपापरत्वम् ।
 माध्यस्थ्यभावं विपरीतवृत्तौ
 सदा समात्मा विदधातु देव ॥

HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY PROF. K. A. NILKANTA SASTRI
University of Madras.

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in asking me to preside over the History section of this session of the All-India Oriental Conference, and with your kind and earnest co-operation I hope it will be possible for us to maintain the standard of work attained by this section under the distinguished scholars who have preceded me in this office.

Even before the outbreak of the present war, the centre of Indological studies had begun to shift from Europe to India; and this war is sure to complete the process. Prof. R. C. Majumdar noticed the increasing role of Indian scholarship in Indian historical study in the ninth session of this conference held in 1937 at Trivandrum; on that occasion he uttered a warning about the maintenance of proper standards in our work, and it seems to me that we shall do well to give it the amount of attention that it merits. Proceedings of Conferences like this, and the papers published in the learned periodicals of our country give evidence of much good work; but it must be owned also that much of it is repetition or rehash of old things, and some of it mere trash. There is scope for a stricter application of critical standards here.

As Indians we are indeed best fitted to interpret the story of our past, and we have been fed too long on a kind of history that differs little from propaganda; the bias which has coloured India's history so far is that of her conquerors and administrators. We must own, with bent heads, that the first continuous history of Ancient India and the Oxford history of India, one of the most popular college text-books of Indian History, are both from the pen of an English civilian. We have further a Cambridge history of India, short by only one volume of the original plan and a Cambridge short history.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am far from underrating the great work done by two or three generations of European Indologists, and the fine models they have set before us to guide our own endeavours. But in the West the age of the Titans of Indology seems to have gone and, even apart from the ruin wrought by this ruthless war, the chances of first-rate work on India for the future are not bright there; it is time we hasten to fill the void. Further, the best work that has already been done is not yet as well known as it deserves to be; our religions, our literatures, our philosophies and arts have often been expounded with eloquence and understanding by many authors deeply attached to the things of the spirit; their estimates still remain the

property of the learned and have not gained currency in the daily teaching of our schools and colleges: The ordinary books of Indian history used there reflect little of the grand features of the nation's life. To judge from these text-books, India was made by God to be invaded, conquered and subdued over and over again from land and sea, and anything that was good in her national life, she got from the Greeks, or the Persians, or the British.

We have to unlearn whatever is false or mischievously tendentious in current teaching, and prepare the way for a better understanding and a juster appreciation of our ancestors and their work for the well-being of our race. The ancient Indians faced and solved many human problems of great complexity and of perennial interest. If you take a cross-section of the world and its civilizations in the seventh century after Christ you will see that the most advanced races of men lived in that age not in Europe or America, but in Asia; and among the Asiatic nations, Indians held the foremost place in all the arts of civilized life. India then meant not only the extensive peninsula now so-called, but its vast hinter-land in Central Asia, happily styled Serindia today, as also the sister peninsula of Indo-China and the neighbouring archipelago; in fact India extended wherever her sacred language was employed, her gods worshipped and her ceremonies followed, her way of life, her arts and her literature accepted. Then was the Indian ocean properly so called, for India's ships and Indian mariners roamed at large over all the ports and emporia from Africa to China. And the Chinese who then shared with Indians the front rank in the civilized world turned to India with admiration, and followed her steps diligently in all the higher reaches of religion and philosophy; scores of their pious pilgrims and eager scholars braved the unknown dangers of deserts, mountains and seas in order to worship at the shrines of the holy land of India and sojourn in her centres of learning for a time. And they often took back with them not only sacred relics and scriptural texts, but preachers and pandits who would expound the law of Dharma in alien lands and translate its texts into the language of the country. For any one who takes a broad view, this intercourse between China and India, sustained for several generations and renewed more than once after an interval, holds an important place in the intellectual history of humanity; the obscure pandits and *śramaṇas* whose names alone have floated down to us and others, even more numerous, who must remain forgotten for ever, accomplished a high and noble work, for they helped to bring together whatever was best and most universal in two great civilizations. They overcame the barriers of geography, race and language, and united two great peoples in an intimate communion of thought and soul.

India lost in the race of life when war, aggression and organised exploitation assailed her from outside. Even against such ills she was prepared in a certain measure; the Persian and the Greek but touched her fringe, and the Sakas and the Huns she could accept and absorb. The advent of Islam first broke up the unity of India as of the European world, but even Muslim and Hindu were not unwilling or unable to find mutual accommodation, as many

passages of Mughal history and the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri attest. It must be admitted, however, that the later Mughals deliberately reversed gear and undid much of the good work that had gone on before and distributed offices and honours on considerations other than merit. That is the beginning of the social and political problems which loom so large and so complicated today after being nourished for long by the new Power whose agents began to rule India from outside and primarily in its own interest.

But the history of India until about A. D. 1200 is the story of a more or less sustained creative effort and the active promotion of well-being and well-doing among men. Since the discovery of the Indus valley culture less than twenty years ago, the age of civilization in India has demonstrably increased by two thousand years or so. And Indian culture had already a long history of growth round about 3000 B. C. Even at that early time, India was noted for two things—respect for human personality seen in the greater regard for the daily needs of the common men in the dispositions of urban life, a thing unknown to the contemporary civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia, and secondly a reluctance to fight, call it military unpreparedness if you will, seen in the absence of fortifications and of any strong offensive weapons. The relation between the Indus culture and that of Vedic Aryans is still an open question; but whatever that was, the fact remains that the earliest data of Indian archaeology attest clearly the scale of human values accepted and acted on by Indians in their daily life. Since then they pursued for many ages diligently and with conspicuous success the task of spreading those values among their neighbours and getting them to accept the whole apparatus of culture which incorporated them in social institutions that made for unity in the midst of diversity, and harmony in the midst of differences. And this process, having been continued until it embraced the whole of the vast land of Jambudvīpa, subsequently flowed over to the *dvīpāntara*, Malayasia, which was so completely won over to Indian culture that the Chinese with perhaps greater opportunities of influencing the people of these lands left a weaker impress on their life.

In fact the ancient civilizations of Eastern and Southern Asia must count among the proudest achievements of man and will be seen to be such by all who could lay aside current prejudices against coloured races and subject nations. These civilizations combined a high degree of material equipment with a constant and abiding regard for things of the spirit; they had gained a firm hold on the essentials of social happiness, and regulated man's work and worship in conformity to clearly defined and well recognised ideals; they developed means of popular education which brought the basic ideas of their culture home to every man, woman, and child according to capacity and needs, and prepared each for the duties of his or her station; there was at the same time ample scope for the play of individuality, and a remarkable capacity for tolerating the widest differences of outlook and doctrine on the most fundamental matters of social life or metaphysical thought. The balance

between the opposite demands of change and stability, of town and country, of utility and art, of individual freedom and social control, was on the whole very well maintained, and though life was lived at a much slower tempo than in the age of steam, petrol and electricity, the area of realised social satisfaction was greater than now, and indeed it will not be easy to point to any other time or place where it was greater. Of all these noble things of our past we hear little, very little indeed in our textbooks.

We have fallen victims to what, with justice, has been called 'the Whig interpretation of History', and have made the conceptions of political unity, National sovereignty and parliamentary government the touchstones of Indian history. Let us take the illustrious Lassen for an example. His monumental work is still widely used by all systematic students of Indology. At the very outset Lassen writes: 'Though the Indian Aryans felt their unity as against the *mleccha*, still they lacked the living consciousness of nationality, because they felt cut up into separate smaller interests through the numerous castes. The Indian state lost itself visibly in a number of village-ships that stood by themselves and did not worry about the general fate of the land if no innovation came about in the tax system. Hence they could evoke no consciousness of a Fatherland, each caste being its own Fatherland. Secondly, by the wide extent of the land no single government could come up, and big empires embracing the whole land, like Maurya and Gupta, were of short duration'.

What is this but a critique of Indian society and Indian history in the light of the nineteenth century prepossessions of Europe? This criticism was started by the English administrators and European missionaries and has been neatly focussed by the vast erudition of Lassen; the unfulfilled aspirations of Germany in the early nineteenth century doubtless had their share in shaping the line of Lassen's thought. And this line has been amplified and developed in all subsequent writings on India. The political unification of India is an achievement of British rule; and the glory of this achievement, great in itself, appears all the greater for its being contrasted with an unbroken record of failure in this respect. No wonder our history is reduced to a dry worthless record of dynastic wars and internecine strife, of court intrigues and palace revolutions, and of invitations extended to the foreign invader by the short-sightedness of factions which preferred their immediate convenience to the more abiding welfare of the country. And it is too often forgotten that the spirit of our ancient culture is quite capable of using, to its own benefit and that of the world, the modern techniques of the scientific, economic and political regulation of social life.

I do not say all this in any spirit of cavil. I recognise how difficult it is to write history free from bias. But it is time that we take a retrospect of Indian historical studies and furnish the correctives needed. Nationality in its political aspect became full-fledged in Europe only in the nineteenth century. Even there it is largely artificial. It often includes nations with clearly marked

characteristics and is held together only by force; remove the military support commanded by the administration, and the national state will relapse into a loose confederation of groups. And who can deny that Nationality and State Sovereignty have been among the most potent causes of strife and war in modern Europe? In India the conditions of spontaneous group-consciousness were very well understood from the beginning, and her social philosophy made all necessary allowances for the influence of topography, birth, occupation and so on on the rise and growth of groups in the body politic. Indian society was a federation of an unlimited number of autonomous groups, each regulating its own affairs, social, economic and or religious and cherishing its own standards of work and good conduct, and all acknowledging common ideals of a normative character; the groups were coordinate in their status, and cooperated readily in common enterprises. Indian unity and nationality was cultural, not political. The unity of India is to be found in the spread of her holy places of pilgrimage, in the names of the rivers and mountains of the country which are as music to the ear of an Indian, in the noble epics and ballads of the country which are lovingly localised at innumerable spots in India and Indo-China. It found its expression not in parliament or empire, but in the social ideal of *Dharma* to which all had to conform without exception. Asoka's noble utterances in his edicts furnish the most outstanding evidence that this was no pious sentiment or remote ideal, but the lamp of daily life.

As I understand the matter, the distinctive excellence of ancient India is to be sought not in the sphere of politics but elsewhere. And it seems to me that attempts to trace the forms of parliamentary-cabinet government in the ancient political institutions of India are somewhat misplaced. Equally unconvincing and misdirected seems to me the opposite view of the Indian state put forward by Breloer, a close student of Kautilya, that it was an all-embracing paternalism which transcended the distinction between state property and private property and which, in its characteristics of a planned economy, makes one think of mercantilism or even of Communism and Fascism. This is not the occasion for a full examination of these questions. But whatever the impression created on some minds by the cyclopaedic details of the *Arthaśāstra*, we can hardly overlook the exceptional nature of this work, or fail to notice that the general impression made by the bulk of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature and the numerous inscriptions of the country is of quite another order. These proclaim beyond the slightest doubt that the sphere of the State in India was definitely limited in range and that the duty of the State was the protection of the Social order by the removal of hindrances to its proper working; these hindrances might arise from individuals or groups swerving from the path of *dharma* or from a foreign invader. As the foremost poet of our land, Kālidāsa, has said, the *raison d'être* of sovereignty (*kṣatra*) is the protection from damage it ensures to society. And this power of protection was conceived of as a social function of a specialised character: it might be undertaken by any one individual or group who could do so, and

there were naturally as many protection centres, states, as *kṣatriya* clans or monarchs willing to undertake and accomplish the task of upholding the social order of more or less extensive areas in the country. The inter-relations among these states were regulated by well-understood rules; the concepts of the *Cakravartin* and of the field of his operations, *Cakravarti-kṣetra*, were governing ideals; the perfect *Cakravarti* was a *Mahāpuruṣa*, and to the extent the kings of history fell short of the *mahāpuruṣa* their states fell short of the ideal state. The Indian State was never organised as a war State, and war was looked upon as the last means of policy, and deprecated even as a measure of self-defence. But wars there were and conquests in pursuit of the ideal of the *vijigīṣu* (conqueror), but only in exceptional instances was warfare the grim and horrid thing it can be; often enough it was an easy-going half-hearted affair, an assertion or acceptance of vague claims of suzerainty soon forgotten on either side. "In times of civil war", says Arrian in his *Indika*, "the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands: hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest".

In these feeble and disjointed observations I have endeavoured to indicate how the history of India is now viewed and how it may be. I have devoted them particularly to ancient India because of the complexity of that part of our subject and its greater interest to students of Indian civilization. Max Muller said: 'My interest lies altogether with the people of India, *when left to themselves*, and historically I should like to draw a line after the year 1000 after Christ'. That doubtless also still continues to be our dominant, though not exclusive interest.

The history of India is the history of a large section of civilized humanity for four or five thousand years; its intrinsic interest and value would justify the expenditure of a good part of our time and resources in its proper study and elucidation. And when it also happens to be the history of our own country and people, our duty to undertake this task in earnest becomes all the greater. I do not underrate our difficulties. History and philosophy are at a discount today. The craze is all for science; you have only to say 'War' or 'Industrial research', and everything is added unto you, and very much excused. Archaeology is perhaps the most neglected scientific department of the Government of India today, and history is going to the wall in all the Universities, thanks to the inroads of the sciences, even economics among them: But Indians would lose their soul, and the world itself would lose much that it needs in its present distraught condition, if the history, the philosophies and the classics of India were allowed to fall into neglect without the active thinking minds of our time maintaining a live contact with the tap-roots of our culture. I am not saying, of course, that our people made no mistakes in the past, for to say that would be untrue. Nor am I saying that the past should be revived; it would be futile and meaningless to say that; for the one unalterable thing about the past is that it is past. I do say,

however, that we have much to gain by seeking as good a knowledge as we can gather of what we were in the beginning, and how we reached the position in which we now find ourselves.

The late Rai Bahadur Hira Lal and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, in the addresses they delivered as General Presidents of this Conference on two former occasions, stressed the need for a general history of India written by Indians from an Indian point of view. Since then more than one scheme for such a history of India has been put forward; doubts have also been expressed sometimes if there is room for all of them, doubts based on the fear of unnecessary duplication or undesirable rivalry. But historical truth has many facets, and no one history however talented its authors and however comprehensive its scope can be accepted as the last word on all aspects of India's past. It may be an advantage to have more than one history surveying the same set of facts from necessarily different points of view, for in a subject from which it is so difficult to eliminate the personal bias of the writers, that may be after all the best means of serving truth. But it is just possible that in straining after two histories with our financial and other limitations we may imperil the completion of even one, and that is the one thing to be avoided at all costs. We in this conference have often stressed the need for a new history of India; we send forth our best wishes for the success of all who are engaged in the furtherance of the scheme, and we may express the hope that, before the next session of the Conference, we shall have before us some parts at least of that history.

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

(*Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics*)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A.

Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me first express my deep sense of gratitude to the members of the Executive Committee of this learned Conference for the high honour they have done me by inviting me to preside over the deliberations of this section. It was with great diffidence that I accepted this honour as I was fully conscious of the responsibility attending it. I hope, however, that with your indulgence and co-operation I shall be able to carry out the work entrusted to me.

The Great World War which had already commenced when we met last at Tirupati, has since assumed gigantic proportions and engulfed several nations. It is now threatening to approach this country. In such an emergency it is difficult to think calmly of such academic subjects as Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics. The Great War has, moreover, crippled the resources which in normal times are directed to this work. It should not cause any surprise, therefore, if the Archaeological Departments in the country have felt the blighting effects of the War and found their work hampered for want of sufficient funds. It is nevertheless gratifying to find that in spite of such handicaps very great and interesting discoveries have been made in the domain of archaeology during the past two years. After successful excavations at Kosam and Lauria Nandangarh under the direction of that veteran archaeologist Mr. N. G. Majumdar whose death in tragic circumstances we so deeply mourn, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India decided last year to start a model field work for the training of junior Officers of the Department as well as scholars and apprentices at the great site of Rāmnagar which has long been identified with Ahichchhatra, the ancient capital of North Pāñchāla. The work has been carried on under the direct supervision of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, Rao Bahādur K. N. Dikshit, who has so successfully maintained the high standard of work set up by Sir John Marshall. The results so far achieved have fully justified the selection of the site. From the accounts published it seems that while the main site where the work was commenced continued in occupation even after the end of the Gupta period, the eastern section was deserted several centuries earlier perhaps owing to the invasions of the Huns. Another rich archaeological site came to light by chance at Rājghāṭ near Benares, where an astonishingly large number of figurines, seals and other antiquities have been unearthed. It is also a matter of great satisfaction to know that the veteran explorer and doyen among Orientalists, Sir Aurel Stein, was actually conducting an expedi-

tion last winter in the deserts of Bahawalpur exploring the sites on the dried up banks of the ancient Hakra, which are apparently connected with the copper age sites of the Indus valley. The archaeological Department of the Gwalior State has started excavation work at Ujjaini, the far-famed capital of the legendary Vikramāditya and the scene of numerous romantic tales. It is interesting to note that inside the Vaisya tekri was revealed a large stupa, built of bricks of about the third century B. C. The Department has also recommenced work at the ancient site of Padmavati of the Mālatimādhava fame, the capital of the Nāgas, where important finds have been discovered. The Archaeological Department of the enlightened State of H. E. H. the Nizam, whose hospitality we are enjoying, has, for some time past, been engaged in excavation work at Paithan, ancient Pratishthāna, the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Recently it has made remarkable discoveries at Koṇḍāpur where the remnants of Buddhist apsidal temples, stupas and monasteries of the period B. C. 200 to A. D. 200 have been discovered. Its work at Maski has indeed been so fruitful of results that it can be considered as a pioneer work throwing light on the great iron age culture of the Deccan in the first millenium before Christ. The discovery of a number of sites of this period in the adjoining districts of Madras, Bombay and Mysore makes it an archaeological event of first rate importance. I am confident that the Deccan area will in the near future assume the same importance to the archaeologist as the Indus Valley did in the twenties. The Archaeological Departments of Mysore, Baroda and Jaipur have also no less interesting achievements to their credit.

Of new publications, apart from the annual reports of archaeological work, mention must be made of the three sumptuous volumes entitled '*the Monuments of Sanchi*' by Sir John Marshall, M. Foucher and Mr. N. G. Majumdar. They bring to a close the monumental work of Sir John Marshall at Sānchi. It will also remain as a standing monument to the munificence of the Bhopal State under whose patronage the magnificent volumes have been published. The excavations at Pahārpur have been fully described in a special Memoir of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit who had himself conducted the work for several years. Recently another important Monograph has been published by the Department describing the exploration made by Prof. Barger and his associates in the Swat Valley and the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan. The Memoir on the Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumal Temple at Kāñchi by Dr. C. Minakshi provides interesting corroboration of certain events in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his ancestors, which had been partially known from epigraphic records. It is a matter of great regret that the authoress who by this Memoir gave such excellent promise of fruitful work did not even live to see it published.

In the field of Epigraphy several important records shedding new light on obscure periods of the ancient history of our land have been discovered

and some of them edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and other research journals. Among royal families brought to light for the first time may be mentioned the one which has become known from the Anjaneri copper-plate inscriptions. It traced its descent from Harischandra and was ruling over North Koṅkan and the Nāsik District as a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Another new feudatory family named Sinda has come to notice from the fragmentary record of Adityavarman. It was ruling over Khandesh during the time of the Rāshtrakūtas. A record of special interest to Sanskritists is the Hoskote copper-plate inscription of the Gaṅga king Avinīta published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department of Mysore for 1938. It establishes the contemporaneity of that Gaṅga king with the Pallava king Simhavishnu which was already known from the Sanskrit work *Avantisundarikathā*. The recent find of the earliest inscription of the Western Chālukyas at Bādāmi is also a discovery of great interest.

Numismatics has not lagged behind its sister sciences. At Agroha in the Hissar District, excavations carried on by Mr. Shrivastav have brought to light interesting coins with the legend *Agodake Agacha Janapadasa* which show that the city of Agraha, the home-land of the large community of the Agrawals dates back to very ancient times. The excavations at Rājagṛh to which I have already referred have revealed a veritable treasure of terracottas and seals of kings and ministers, many of them being altogether new to us. It is noteworthy that the devices on some of these seals are similar to those on the copper and silver coins of the Gupta Emperors from which it is surmised that there was an Imperial mint at Benares in the Gupta period. In the Jaipur State, large hoards of punch-marked coins numbering 3076, besides a number of unknown Mālava coins, were discovered by Dr. Puri during excavations at Rairh. The study of punch-marked coins has recently attracted much attention. Messrs. Durgaprasad, Allan and Walsh have made notable contributions to the solution of the difficult problem of the age of these coins. It is therefore a matter of great regret to us that the career of Mr. Durgaprasad who was a pioneer in the systematic study of these coins should have been so soon cut short by the fell hand of death. In my own province the unique discovery of the coins of the Nala dynasty in 1938 was followed by the equally important one of a large hoard of more than 1500 coins of the Sātavāhanas. The hoard has since then been studied in detail and published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. It contained the coins of as many as eleven kings. Many of them were already known from the Purāṇas, but the records of some of them had not been discovered. This hoard therefore affords striking corroboration of the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas on which some scholars were inclined to look with suspicion. Another important hoard is that of Kauśāmbī coins found at Sāton near Fatehpur which has been recently described in an interesting article by Dr. Motichandra. It contained the coins of Śivamagha, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman. The age in which these kings flourished

is still a matter of controversy. Some records of their reign have also come to light, but they are dated in an unspecified era, the epoch of which remains to be determined. I have therefore fixed this subject for a symposium in this section.

Having thus taken a rapid, though imperfect, survey of the progress achieved so far, let us turn to the work that lies ahead. In archaeology, notwithstanding the devoted and strenuous labours of the Archaeological Departments of the Government of India and the Indian States, only a limited amount of work has been accomplished so far. India is a vast country and there are so many gaps in our knowledge of its past. The number of promising archaeological sites is also very large. The Universities and learned Societies must therefore come forward in an ever increasing measure to assist in archaeological exploration and excavation. By recent legislation the Government of India have, in a way, invited non-official aid in this matter; but except in one or two notable cases, Universities and learned Societies have not come forward to take advantage of the situation. This is due not so much to lack of interest as to want of funds. Excavation work is very costly. Unless we have more generous donors of the type of the late Sir Ratan Tata to finance it, it is futile to expect such work from learned societies whose financial condition is generally far from satisfactory. In this connection I mention the instance of Mr. P. C. Diwanji who at the last session of this Conference offered the handsome amount of Rs. 1000 for exploration work in archaeology and the ancient history of India.

In Epigraphy the problem of the script of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā still remains to be solved, notwithstanding the ingenious attempts to unravel its mystery made by Prof. Langdon, Dr. Hunter, Rev. Heras and Dr. Pran Nath. Another noteworthy recent attempt is that of Prof. B. Hrozný who is renowned as the decipherer of the Hittite cuneiform tablets of Boghazkui. According to him the inscriptions on the Indus seals show that 'the proto-Hindu population of the Indus basin was very mixed and that it included the following elements; first hieroglyphic Hittites, next a non-European element Subaraean or Khurritish, and finally Cassites or Elamites.' It is a matter of regret that this Czech scholar's attempts at decipherment of the Indus seals have been impeded by the present World War.

Speaking of Archaeology I am reminded of the highly useful *Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* which used to be published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, with the financial aid of the Government of India, Indian States, Netherlands, India and Ceylon, until its publication was stopped when Holland was overrun by the Germans. It will be long, I am afraid, before the Institute is able to resume its publication. Scholars who had occasion to use this *Bibliography* know how useful for their work were the general surveys of archaeological and numismatical work in India and abroad and the index to publications on Indology. It is necessary to undertake the publication of a

similar bibliography in India. Scholastic aid required for its preparation can easily be obtained in India and I feel confident that the Government of India and the Indian States would be willing to give the same financial aid that they were contributing to the Kern Institute, if the work is undertaken by a properly organized body like this Conference.

Another work, the want of which is keenly felt by workers in ancient Indian history is an up-to-date list of inscriptions of South India. *The list of Northern Inscriptions*, recently completed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, has provided us with an excellent reference work for the history of North India, but we find ourselves greatly handicapped for want of a similar one for South India. More than thirty-five years ago, Dr. Kielhorn published his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*. Since then thousands of inscriptions have been discovered in the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Hyderabad and Travancore States and Karnāṭaka and other parts of South India. Very few of these have been properly edited, but the rest are known from brief notices in the *Reports of South Indian Epigraphy* and other periodicals. *The Historical Inscriptions of South India* by Messrs. Sewell and Aiyangar lists only the records collected till 1923, but several hundreds have been found since then. Besides, the method adopted in arranging the records in this work, though useful in its own way, is not the most suitable one for research, as it does not give the necessary genealogical and other details of each record. We have, of course, some useful indexes such as those to the twelve Volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and to the *Annual Reports* of the Mysore Archaeological Survey. Recently another useful index to more than 2500 inscriptions noticed in the *Reports of South Indian Epigraphy* has been published. But a comprehensive work giving a complete up-to-date list of all South Indian Inscriptions with the necessary genealogical and other details is still a desideratum. This is of course an enormous work. It will require the aid of competent scholars conversant with Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese and Marāṭhi and will entail heavy expenditure. We expect, therefore, that the Government Epigraphist for India's Office which has recently published the *List of Northern Inscriptions* will next undertake this highly useful work.

Another great desideratum is Collections of Inscriptions. The need for this was felt long ago and three volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* have already been published by the Government of India. These include the inscriptions of Aśoka, the Kharoshthī inscriptions and the inscriptions of the Guptas and their contemporaries. But we require many more volumes of this series. Unless all the records of a particular imperial dynasty and its feudatories are available together in one volume, it becomes difficult to take a comprehensive view of its achievements. Some collections of records on regional basis have indeed been published such as *Nellore Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, *Kamarūpaśāsanāvali*, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat* etc. But these works do not generally give complete collections of the records of any particular dynasty. Future collections should

therefore be compiled on a dynastic basis such as the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, Pallavas, Vākātakas, Early and Later Chālukyas, Rāshtrakūtas, Cholas etc. Again in compiling such volumes care should be taken to incorporate in them the results of the latest researches. It is a mere waste of energy and money to copy or translate old introductory articles and translations which, in many cases, have become antiquated. Besides, a fresh study of these records is sure to bring new facts to light and to eliminate errors which may have persisted for a long time.

Much as has been done for the solution of the various problems of Indian chronology, there are some that are still outstanding. The problem of the Epoch of the Gupta Era which had generally been regarded as settled by the labours of Dr. Fleet, has latterly been raised by some scholars. In a recent number of the *New Indian Antiquary*, Mr. K. G. Sankar has advanced cogent arguments to push the epoch back to A. D. 273. They deserve critical examination. The Kalachuri year was supposed to begin on Āśvina śu. di. 1, but a fresh examination of the dates of the Kalachuri era has shown that like the southern Vikrama year the Kalachuri year also began on Kārttika śu. di. 1. The problem of the epoch of the Gāṅga era is still unsolved. It has been debated by several scholars during the last sixty years and several dates ranging from A. D. 349-50 to A. D. 877-78 have been proposed as marking the commencement of it. Chronology is the steel frame of history. The solution of this question is therefore essential for the correct knowledge of the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas who ruled over Kalinga for several centuries. This subject will be discussed in the second symposium of this section. I have every hope that as a result of discussion we shall be able to come to some definite conclusion about the beginning of this era which has defied all attempts at solution for a long time.

There are some other matters connected with epigraphical records which still remain to be dealt with. Several years ago Dr. Fleet suggested that the published epigraphical records should be indexed for all geographical details and that an atlas of maps illustrating successive periods of Indian history should be prepared. Since Dr. Fleet's time much geographical material has accumulated by the devoted labours of scholars working on Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit literatures, inscriptions and coins. This material should be collected, indexed and published in a comprehensive volume. This would prove very useful for the proper understanding of epigraphic records and the identification of places mentioned in them.

During the last thirty or forty years a large number of ancient coins have come to light as a result of excavations at different sites such as Taxila, Rairh, Bhīṭa, Rājghāṭ, Basarh, Besnagar, Paīṭhan and Chandravallī. It is gratifying to find that the large collections of punch-marked coins found at Taxila and Purnea have been published by Mr. E. H. Walsh and Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya respectively. We have also excellent descriptive catalogues of

coins in the British Museum, London, the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the Punjab Museum, Lahore. But there are still several collections of punch-marked and other ancient coins deposited in the museums of the different provinces and States, which are awaiting systematic study and publication. This work should be undertaken without any further delay and the rich treasures of these Museums should be disclosed to scholars for further study. I would also suggest that a fresh study of the coins already published in old journals should be taken up. Our knowledge of ancient Indian history and chronology has considerably advanced in recent years. A fresh examination of the coins published thirty or forty years ago will, I am sure, lead to interesting discoveries and correction of mistakes which may have continued for a long time.

These are some of the lines of future work to which I would respectfully invite your attention. I shall be gratified if any of them commend themselves to you.

PHILOLOGY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By DR. MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH, M. A., B. L. (Cal.), D. Litt.

Philology and Indian Linguistics

Philology or as it is more appropriately called the Science of Language or Linguistics has not received the consideration that it deserves from the Orientalists in India. Few of our Indian Universities have recognised it as a separate subject either for the B. A. or the M. A. degree. Of the classical languages Sanskrit and Arabic are much studied in India, they being the sacred languages of the Hindus and the Muslims respectively. But without an acquaintance of Philology the knowledge of Sanskrit or Arabic cannot be perfect. I crave indulgence of my learned philological colleagues to clarify my statement for the benefit of my revered Pandit and Maulavi friends. First of all I shall take the case of Sanskrit.

Of all ancient languages Sanskrit has the unique good fortune of possessing a highly elaborate grammar. The Grammarian Pāṇini analysed the Sanskrit language minutely and enunciated aphorisms embodying the rules of the language. But it was not his business to explain why a particular rule obtained. For example, the root *han* 'to kill', undergoes changes in *ghnanti* 'they kill', *jaghāna* 'he killed', *hata* 'killed', besides *hanti* 'he kills', *hantr* 'killer'. Pāṇini has no explanation to offer why *h* should be changed to *gh* and *j* in some cases and why *n* should be elided in some. Only a student of Comparative Philology can explain such phenomena.

Philology is not only helpful in the domain of Grammar, but also in the field of Etymology and Semantics or Science of Meaning. I shall here confine myself to a few examples only. Philologically Sanskrit *nīḷa*, Latin *nīdus* and English *nest* are all cognate. The proper derivation of *nīḷa* is *ni* (prefix) + *sad* (root, 'to sit') + *a* (suffix). *Samudra* is not *sa-mudra* 'that which is filled with *mudrā* (coin)', but *sam-udra*, 'that which is filled with *udar* (water)'. It is to be compared with the Vedic word *anudra*, 'waterless'. The words cognate with *udar* are Greek (*h*) *udor*, Hittite *watar*, English *water*. Philology teaches that the original form of *tārā* 'star', *paśyati* 'he sees', *turiya* 'fourth' were **stārā* **spaśyati*, **kturiya*. Compare—Avestan *star*, Persian *sūtāra*, Greek *aster*, Eng. *star*; Avestan *spaśyēiti*, Latin *specere*, Old High German *spehon*, 'to look', English *spy*, (Skt. *spaśta* 'clear' and Vedic *spaś* 'spy' are from the root *spaś*); Avestan *ākhtūrim* 'quadruple'. In Sanskrit *sneha* means oil and affection. But originally it meant snow. Cf. Avestan *snāezaiti*, Lithuanian *snega*, 'it snows', Old Irish *snigid*, 'it rains', Sanskrit *sneha* is cognate with Gk. *nīpha* (accusative; for **snīpha*), Latin

nivem (acc. for **snivem*), Lithuanian *snėga-s*, Old Slavonic *snego*, English *snow*, all of which mean 'snow'.

Even in the understanding of the Vedas, Philology helped much. Let me give only a few examples. The word *śrupti* occurs in the Ṛgveda only once in 1.51.5. The Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā took it to mean 'mouth' (*āśya*), Sāyaṇa has explained it by 'mouth' (*mukha*). But Vedic *śrupti*, Avestan *srupti*, Khotanese *suti*, Persian Pazend *suft*, Modern Persian *sif*, Armenian *suf* are all cognate and mean "shoulder". Compare Duch *schuft* 'shoulder blade'. Take another word *rukṣaḥ*. It is found only once in the Ṛgveda VI. 3.7. Sāyaṇa takes it to mean 'bright' (*dīpta*). But Pāli *rukka*, Aśoka (Eastern) *lukha*. Sinhalese *ruk*, Hindi etc. *rukḥ* 'tree' show that the correct meaning is 'tree'.

There is a well-known verse of the Ṛg-veda:—*Kārur ahaṇi tato bhisag upala prakṣṇi nanā* (IX. 112.3). Yāska in his Nirukta hesitated about the meaning of the words *tata* and *nanā*. He opined that *tata* may mean 'father' or 'son' and *nanā* 'mother' or 'daughter'. Sāyaṇa has followed him. But Philology shows that *tata* and *nanā* are nursery words corresponding to English dad and mommy. Cf. Hittite *atta*, *anna*; Wakhi *tat*, *nan*; Shīghni *dād*, *nan*; Sarikoli *ata*, *ana*; Ishkashmi, Zebaki *tat*, *nan*; Munjani *tat*, *nenā*; Yūdgha *tat*, *nīno*; Bashgali *tot*, *nū*; Khovar *tat*, *nan*, all meaning 'father', 'mother'.

Before I pass on to Arabic I should like to mention that Avestan, the sacred language of the Zoroastrians, has been made intelligible with the help of Comparative Philology. Modern Persian Etymology has been possible only with its help. The suffix *rā* as in *Khudārā*, 'by God', *mārā*, 'to us' etc. is to be derived from Old Persian *rādiy* e.g. Old Pers. *arāhyarādiy* > Modern Persian *ūrā* 'to him'. Who could have ever thought that the modern Iranian names Bahrām and Farīdūn are to be derived through Mid. Pers. *Varhrān* and *Freton* from the Avestan *Vərəthraghna* and *Thrāetaona* corresponding to Vedic *Vṛtraghna* and *Trīta*?

Coming to Arabic let us see how Philology sheds light on it. Let us take the word *sudus* 'one-sixth'. Apparently it is anomalous to derive it from *sitt* 'six'. But Philology tells us that the common Semitic form was **šidth*. Cf. Sabeian *sidth*, Assyrian *šiši*, Hebrew *šeš*, Aramaic *seth*, Ethiopian *sessū*, Old Egyptian *šš*. In Arabic *antum* 'you', *hum* 'they', the pronominal suffixes *-kum*, *-hum*, the 2nd pers. pl. of the Perfect tense ending in *-tum* (as in *qataltum*) take *-ū* finally as *antumū*, *-humū*, *-kumū* when joined with another word. This is apparently anomalous. But we know from Comparative Philology that they had originally the final *-ū*. Cf. Arabic *antum*, Assyrian *attunū*, Ethiopian *antemmū*, 'you'; Ar. *hum*, Ass. *šun* (*u*), 'they'; Ar. *-kum*, Ass. *-kun* (*u*); Eth. *-kemmū*; Ar.—*hum*, (pronominal suffix), Ass.—*šunū*, Eth.—*homū*; Ar.—*tum*, Ass.—*ātunū*, Eth. *-kemmū*. The Meccan mode of reading the Qurān and Arabic poetry also support this.

Philology helps to trace the original meanings of some Arabic words. In Arabic *bashar* means 'a human being'. But its original meaning is 'flesh',

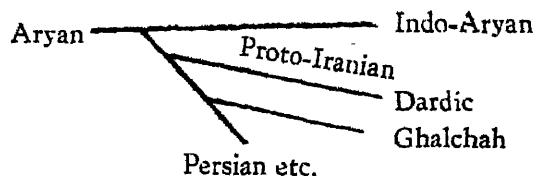
body' Hebrew *basar* is used to denote 'what is human, frail, mortal in opposition to God or what is divine'. In the Qurān *bashar* has been used in opposition to angels. In Syriac it is *besrā*. In Arabic *rūh* means 'soul'; originally it meant 'breath'. Cf. Hebrew *rūha* 'breath, wind'. This change of meaning is similar to Sanskrit *ātman* 'soul' and German *Atem*, 'breath'. In Arabic *laham* means 'flesh'; but Hebrew *lehem* has preserved the original meaning 'food'. It has a secondary meaning in Hebrew as 'bread'.

Philology shows that Arabic borrowed words from foreign languages. I give only a few examples from the Qurān. Ar. *zanjabil* and Eng. *ginger* are both ultimately derived from Sanskrit *śyngavera*. Ar. *kāfur* and Eng. *camphor* are traced to Malaya *kapur* 'chalk', whence Sanskrit *karpūra* 'camphor'. *Qintār* 'a heap' is derived from Latin *centenarius*, 'hundredweight'. *Dinār* a 'gold coin' is from Lat. *denarius*. *Dirham* 'a small coin' is taken from Greek *drakhme*. *Qissis* 'priest' is from Gk. *kissos*, 'a priest'. *Injil* 'the New Testament' is derived from Gk. *euaggelion* 'fee for good news'. *Taurāt* 'the Bible' is taken from Hebrew *torāh* 'Instruction, law' from the verb *yarah* 'to instruct'. *Masīh* is derived from Heb. *Mashiah* 'anointed' (= Gk. *Khristos*), from the verb *mashah* 'to anoint'.

In the Qurān (II, 248) occurs the expression *at-tābūtu lihi sakinatum*. It has been wrongly translated by Maulana Muhammad Ali as 'the heart in which there is tranquillity'. The reference is here clearly to the Ark of the Covenant (I Samuel, IV, 4). So *tābūt* means the Ark of the Covenant and *sakinah* is to be taken in the sense of Hebrew *shekhina*, the Divine presence which appeared on the Mercy Seat of the Ark. 'The next clause of the Qurān *tahmiluhu-l malāikatu* 'the angels bearing it' refers to the cherubims which were placed on the two sides of the Mercy Seat (I Sam. IV. 4; Exodus, XXV 22). The Quranic expression *baqiyyatum mimmā taraka ālu Mūsā wa ālu Hārūna* wrongly translated 'the best of what the followers of Moses and the followers of Aaron have left' really means 'the remains which the family of Moses and the family of Aaron have left'. It has reference to an omer of manna and the Aaron's rod which were kept in the Ark. The returning of the Ark has been mentioned in I Samuel, Chap. VI. Ar. *tābūt* is cognate with Heb. *tebhah*, Egyptian *teb*, 'chest, box'.

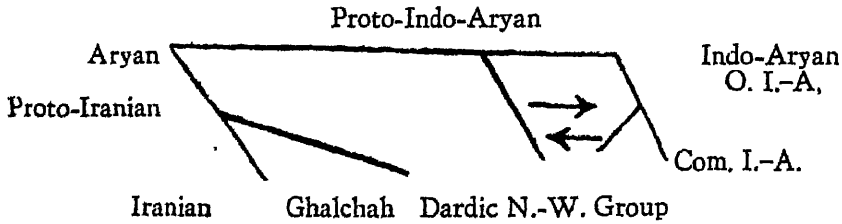
I shall close this topic by quoting another example from the Qurān. The Muslims were forbidden to use the expression *rā'inā* 'look at us' while addressing the Prophet, as the Jews of Medina used to say *rā'inā* by twisting (the word) with their tongues, and by way of tauting the religion (of Islam)' (IV, 46; Cf. also II, 104). Some of the commentators like Zamakhshāri and Baidhāvi note that the Jews used *rā'inā*, a Hebrew word of similar sound like *rā'inā* but meaning abuse. Now in Hebrew there are two words of similar sound-(i) *ru'enū* meaning 'our shepherd' (= Ar. *rā'inā*). But this is not abusive as God speaks of Cyrus as 'My shepherd' (Isaiah, xli, 28) and David calls upon God as 'My shepherd' (Psalms xxiii; 1). (ii) *ra'enū* 'our wicked one' from the root *rū'a* 'to be evil.' Evidently this is the word used by the Jews.

has graphically represented the linguistic position of Dardic thus (L. S. I. Vol. I, p. 100).:—



I, however, agree with Dr. Morgenstierne that "languages like Kashmiri, Shina, Khowar, Kalasha, Gawar-Bati, Pashai and Tirahi are absolutely and unquestionably Indian. The languages of the Kafir group—Kati, Waigeli, Ashkun and Prasun—occupy a position apart from the other Dard languages in some important respects". (*Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 52). Recently he has added Dameli to this Kafir group (*Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, pp. 59 ff.). This group like Iranian has preserved the distinction between Aryan palatals *z*, *zh* and palatalized velars *j*, *jh*. On the other hand it has developed cerebral sounds like Indo-Aryan. The presence of cerebrals in Pashto shows that these sounds developed quite early. Unlike Iranian it has retained the original *s*, *ś* and does not change *sv* to *khv* and *śv* to *sp*. In the vocabulary the Kafir group in some cases is Aryan or Indo-European rather than Indo-Aryan; e. g. Kati *zim*, Waigeli *zim*, Ashkun *zim*, Prasun *zema*, Dameli *zin*, Avestan *zima*, Sanskrit *hima*, Kati *dušt*, Waigeli *došt*, Prasun *lust*, Ashkun *doś*, *dus*; Dameli *daś*, Old Persian *dasta*, Avestan *zasta*, contra Indo-Aryan *hasta*, 'hand'. Kati *štā*, Prasun *istikh*, Ashkun *ista*, Dameli *istāri*, Avestan *star*, New Pers *sitāra*, Greek *aster*, Latin *stella*, Vedic *str*, contra Sanskrit *tārā*, 'star'. New Indo-Aryan languages have *tārā*. Kati *sus*, Waigeli *sos* (*sāsā*), Prasun *sūs*, Ashkun *sus*, Avestan *khvanhar*, New Pers. *khvāhar*, Vedic *svāsā*, Lat. *soror*, Gothic *swistar*, contra Sanskrit *bhagini* 'sister' from which are descended the New Indo-Aryan (including Gypsy) words denoting sister. It is noteworthy that in the Aśoka Insc. in Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra we get the word derived from *svasā* and in Kalsi, Dhauri (probably also in Girnar and Jaugada) the word *bhagini*. It is also a fact that the Kafir group shares words derived from Indo-Aryan (as distinguished from Aryan) with New Indo-Aryan, just as some languages belonging to the other groups of Dardic like Khowar, Shina, Tirahi, etc. share with this group of words peculiarly Aryan (as distinguished from Indo-Aryan). This means that there was a cultural contact between all these languages. But the fact remains that the Kafir group is to be distinguished from other languages of the Aryan family forming an Intermediate group between Aryan and Indo-Aryan. It is thus necessary to restrict the term Dardic alone to the languages belonging to this Kafir group. We should classify the other languages belonging to the so-called Dardic Branch of Grierson under a North-Western group. It should be mentioned here that Grierson has put Lahnda and Sindhi under the North-Western group which I should call the Western

group. We may represent graphically the relative positions of my Dardic branch and this North-Western and the Common Indo-Aryan thus :—



From this it will be seen that Dardic is not an offshoot from Iranian; it is intermediate between Aryan and Indo-Aryan. I have no time here to discuss the exact relationship of this North-Western group with our Dardic and the Common Indo-Aryan. I have only given above roughly the position of the North-Western Group, which includes Kalasha, Pashai, Gawar-Bati, Diri, Tirahi, Khowar, Shina, Kashmiri and Kohistani.

I give here two examples only to show how Philology helps to find out the true etymology of New Indo-Aryan words. Bengali, Hindi, *ātā*, Gujarati, Sindhi *āto*, Marathi *āt*, Kashmiri *otu*, Gypsy *aro* 'flour' are cognate with Avestan *āsa*, Persian *ārd*, Sogdian *arth*, Afghan *oya*. The root is found in Armenian *alam*, Greek *aleo*, 'I grind'. So it comes from an Indo-European word **alto*. The vulgar verb *pād* 'to pass wind' occurs in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, etc. It is to be derived, from Sanskrit *√ pard* which is to be derived from Indo-European *√ perd*, whence Greek *perdomai*, Albanian *pjerth*, Lithuanian *perdzu*, English *fart*.

The study of Philology is equally necessary for the understanding of Prakrit inscriptions. I give an example. In the Rummin Deī Pillar Inscription of Aśoka occurs the sentence :—" *silāvigadabhiṇā kālāpita* ". Dr. Hultzsch has translated it—" (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse ". He has tentatively accepted the interpretation of Charpentier rightly rejecting the opinions of Pischel, Fleet and R. Bhandarkar. Charpentier's interpretation of *vigadabhi* as *vigaḍa + bhī* and *vigaḍa < vigaḍāśva < *agadāśva*, 'a broken steed, a thorough-bred horse' from a theoretical Indo-Aryan word **gaḍa < gali, gaḍi*, 'idle lazy' is far-fetched and unsatisfactory. Fleet's and Bhandarkar's derivation of *bhiṇā < bhittikā* is philologically untenable. Pischel's derivation of *vigaḍabhi* as *vigaḍ + bhī* as a pleonastic suffix with -ī of the feminine affix meaning 'flawless' is not at all convincing. *Vigaḍa < vikṛta* means 'defective' and not 'flawless'. The sentence should be read as follows :—" *silāvi gadabhiṇā cā kālāpita* ". In Sanskrit it will be *śilāpi gadabhiṇā cā kālāpita*, i. e. a stone (wall) as well as a she-ass was caused to be made. *silāvi < śilāpi* with change of *p* to *v*, as is found in *avatrapeyu* (Shahbazgarhi XIII, 8) and *pāvatave* (Sahasram). *Gadabhiṇā < gadabhi* 'she-ass' is quite normal. Compare Prakrit *gaḍḍahu* from skt. *gardabha*. Apparently Hiuen Tsiang's mention of a horse on the pillar in the Lumbini garden set up by Aśoka-king influenced Charpentier. It

is quite possible that Hiuen Tsiang mistook the figure of the she-ass for that of the horse. It is not the function of the Philologist to explain the significance of the figure of the she-ass.

I give one more example to show how Philology throws light on Prakrits. In the Barhut Inscriptions we find the word *dhenachabo*. This is admittedly equivalent to Pāli, *dhonosākho* 'trimboughed'. So evidently *-chako* = Skt. *-śākhah*. But how is to explain the phonetic change? I have shown in my article "Indo-European Kh in Sanskrit and Avestan" (*Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. IX, p. 131) *chākā* < **chākhā* < Aryan **śhākhā* < Indo-European **khāqhā*, whence Skt. *śākhā* (by de-aspiration), New Persian *śākh*, Armenian *cakh*, Lithuanian *śaka*, old Slavonic *sokha*, Gothic *hoha*, Indo-European *kh* (palatal) being = Aryan *śh* = Skt. *ch*, Avestan *ś*, Germanic *h*, as opposed to Indo-European *skh* = Aryan *sśh* = Skt. *ch*, Avestan *s*, Germ. *sk*.

It is a matter of great pity that the Prakrit Inscriptions with the exception of Aśoka and Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions have not yet been collected and edited in one volume. We should draw the attention of the Government of India to the need of publishing the third volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* containing all Prakrit Inscriptions, edited by a Prakrit scholar well-grounded in Comparative Philology.

In connection with New Indo-Aryan I should like to mention here that the linguistic survey of India undertaken by that indefatigable indologist the late Sir George Grierson is far from complete, as the Madras Presidency and the States of Hyderabad, Travancore, Coorg, Cochin and Mysore were left out of the operations of that survey. As linguistically Ceylon, the Maldive islands and Minicoy are connected with India, it is also desirable to have linguistic survey of those places. The proper authorities and especially the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam may be approached to undertake the work of their respective jurisdictions as soon as possible. For dialectology or the scientific study of dialects it is necessary to have dialect geography and dialect charts. These should supplement the linguistic survey of India.

Before I leave this topic of New Indo-Aryan I should like to draw the attention of the philologists to the necessity of scientific works on the comparative syntax of Inscriptional Prakrits and New Indo-Aryan languages. An up-to-date Comparative Grammar of the New Indo-Aryan languages is also a crying need. Surely Indo-Aryan Philology has made considerable progress since the days of John Beames and Rudolf Hoernle. A Comparative Grammar of a number of languages requires as a preliminary step historical grammars of those languages. We should like to see historical grammars of the principal New Indo-Aryan languages on the lines of Dr. S. K. Chatterji's "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language" and my Professor M. Jules Bloch's "La Formation de la Langue Marathe." It is necessary to remember that no Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan languages will be complete without the Indo-Aryan languages now outside India, I mean, Sinhalese, Mañi

and Gypsy languages. I have already shown (*Indian Historical Quarterly* LX; 742) that old Sinhalese was originally descended from the Middle Indo-Aryan language then prevalent in Western Bengal (Rāḍha).

Now I turn to another great family of Indian languages, I mean, the Dravidian. As mentioned above a great part of the area covered by it was excluded from the sphere of the operations of the linguistic survey of India. Tulu, Koḍagu, Tuda and Kota languages were not surveyed at all. Though much progress has been made in Dravidian philology after Bishop Caldwell, still his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages has remained the only book on the subject. The University of Madras has taken up the Dravidic Studies. We hope and trust eminent Dravidian scholars will soon bring out an up-to-date Comparative Grammar of Dravidian. I should mention here that there is in French an excellent descriptive grammar of Tamil by M. Vinson called *Le Manuel de Langue Tamoule* (Paris, 1903).

We have in India a very interesting group of languages known as Munda. P. W. Schmidt's researches have established the fact that this Munda Group belongs to a Sub-family called Austro-Asiatic, the other Sub-family being called Austronesian. They come under a great family called Austric extending from Madagascar near the east coast of Africa to Easter Island off the west coast of South America excluding only Australia (with Tasmania) and a part of New Guinea. My Professor M. Jean Przyluski has proposed to affiliate a number of Himalayan languages to the Austro-Asiatic. Grierson and Sten Konow have admitted a Munda substratum for the Pronominalized Himalayan languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family. According to M. Przyluski the Indo-Aryans came in contact with these languages at the Vedic Period. Indo-Aryans even borrowed words from Austro-Asiatic. He has shown some common features between these languages and Sumerian. M. Rivet has discovered some affinities between certain American languages on the one hand and Australian, Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian of P. Schmidt) and Mon-Khmer languages on the other. M. Nobuhiro Matsumoto whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Paris has shown the existence of Austro-Asiatic elements in the vocabulary of ancient Japanese (*Le Japonais et les Langues Austro-asiatiques*, Paris 1928). I have shown Munda affinities of Bengali (*Proceedings of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 715 ff.). We have reasons to believe that Bihari, Bengali and Assamese have an Austro-Asiatic substratum.

Over half a century ago Bishop Caldwell observed "A Comparative Grammar of the Kolarian tongues, the third great Indian family, has probably not yet been contemplated; but I am inclined to think that it would be found to be productive of important and interesting results". In spite of the contributions of P. W. Schmidt, Vilh. Thomsen, Jean Przyluski and others a Comparative Grammar of the Austro-Asiatic languages has remained a desideratum.

Austro-Asiatic languages show interesting phonetic changes which have parallels in other families of languages. I give here an example. Common Austro-Asiatic *k*—unchanged; Khmer, Talaing *kon*, Sakai *kénon*, Palaung *kwan*, War *kan*, Nicobarese *koan*, Riang *kwān*, Kharia *kon-du*, Kurku, *kon*, Juang *koni*, Annamese *-kon nit*. —> *kh*; Khasi (i) *khun*, Kha Muk *khan-ne*. —> *g*; Darang *gan*. —> *h*; Santali *han*, *hapan*, Mundari *han*, War (i) *hūn*. —elided; Savara *on*, Gadaba, *oḍu-on* (male child). The common Austro-Asiatic was **kwan* 'child'. In this way it is quite possible to reconstruct the common Austro-Asiatic. I give below the first ten cardinal numbers as tentatively reconstructed by me :—

1. *m-wait*, 2. *bār*, 3. *p-wei*, 4. *p-uon*, 5. *m-son*, 6. *t-rau*, 7. *t-pul*, 8. *t-chām*, 9. *i-chim*, 10. *s-kaul*.

There is a fourth great family of languages, the Tibeto-Chinese family which is represented mainly by the Tibeto-Burman sub-family to which belong a large number of languages of Assam. Notwithstanding the excellent works of savants like Kuhn, Conrady, Laufer and Bradley and of L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient at Hanoi, we have not as yet a Comparative Grammar of Tibeto-Burman. I am sorry to remark that no Indian scholar has set his hand in the scientific treatment of this family of languages.

India with its 188 languages requires a band of devoted workers in the field of Philology to unravel the history of the origin and development of these languages. It will be a great help to Ethnology and to Comparative Mythology as well.

ETHNOLOGY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN, M. A., DIPL. ANTH. (OXON)

The Science of Man: its Problems and its Needs

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference for the opportunity offered to me to preside over the Ethnology Section,—an opportunity I greatly value at the present moment when the study of Social Sciences is passing through a phase of its development, which is shaping the destinies and influencing the future of Indian anthropology.

It is customary to speak of Anthropology as a young science, as compared with the more exact sciences of the present day. Young as its modern development is, as an organised science, it is yet as old as mankind, for from the time that humanity existed, the story of man's life has been in the making. In this sense it is the oldest of studies. There never has been a time when man did not speak or think of his kind. "Solitary confinement agrees with no man", as one of the greatest of living anthropologists has remarked. The great lesson that Anthropology teaches is "the consciousness of the fact that man is of one kind", for the thoughts and feelings that animate mankind are shared by all. The secret of human happiness is to take an intelligent interest in your neighbour and the study of mankind is the noblest of all studies. The complexity of human life during the course of ages has made this study too difficult for words, and if we are to understand the diverse ways of mankind, there must be method in our study; and it is the method that Anthropology has been developing as a science during the past one hundred years. If therefore the methods of Anthropology are of recent growth in the Western countries, their development in the East has been slower still; and it is in the elaboration and refinement of the methods of field work that modern Anthropology has made its greatest contribution to social studies.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE MADRAS MUSEUM

For want of a better term the preliminary period of Anthropological investigation in this country has been called the Risleyan period of Indian Anthropology, after Risley who published his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* in 1891. So far as South India is concerned the beginnings of researches in Anthropology centre round the personality of Edgar Thurston, whose assumption of duties as the Superintendent of the Government Museum in 1886 was the beginning of a long period of research work in South Indian Anthropology. In his Administration Report for the year 1894, Thurston speaks of an entirely

new departure by the commencement of a detailed Anthropological Survey of the races, castes and tribes which inhabit South India. Seven years later a scheme for the systematic Ethnographic Survey of the whole of India receiving the sanction of the Government of India, South Indian Anthropology entered on the next developmental phase, with Thurston as Superintendent of the Ethnographic Survey of the Madras Presidency; a Survey which in the words of the Resolution of the Government of India, included the collecting of the physical measurements of selected castes and tribes by anthropometry and information as to the manners and customs of the people of India. Thurston who was in continuous charge of this work until he retired in December 1908 has left a record of service to South Indian Anthropology which has not been equalled since. His term of office was also noteworthy in yet another respect, the acquisition in 1904 of the vast and valuable prehistoric collections made by Robert Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey of India, a collection which is an index to the wealth of prehistoric material in South India, and which has ever been an inspiration for all further work in South Indian prehistory. The most obvious fact then in the history of South Indian Anthropology, is its early association with the Government Museum, for though the Madras University was among the earliest of the Indian Universities to teach Anthropology as a subject for the B. A. degree course of studies in History, under the title of "Ethnology in its historic setting", it was suffered to disappear altogether from the University curriculum in later years, and the attempts made in the last few years to revive it as a University subject of study and research, have largely remained barren of substantial results.

The prime factor in the growth of Anthropology as a single though many-sided science, has been the synthesis of studies, physical and cultural which present day Anthropology stands for, correlating the whole complex of conditions of life in relation to environment. As thus conceived, the Science of Man is founded on a three fold division of the subject,—Physical Anthropology, or the study of the physical characters of man, Social Anthropology or the study of society and social institutions, including within its scope the material culture of the peoples, their arts and crafts and appliances, a branch of study which has been given a separate standing under the name of Technology; and Prehistory—the study of the prehistoric periods and their respective cultures. Ethnology is the study of ethnic or racial origins and movements, including the comparative study of human groups; while the name ethnography is given to the descriptive treatment of particular human groups.

METHODS

Indian Anthropology has evolved in the last quarter of a century from being mere glossaries of tribes and castes into more intensive studies of particular groups of peoples with a tendency to concentrate on special areas. This phase of its development holds up the ideal of field work technique with its insistence on the functional approach. The functional method seeks to

discover how social institutions work in the light of their present value to those concerned. The whole relationship system is studied analytically and when its formal nature has been sufficiently grasped, the anthropologist goes on to consider what social function attaches to each type of such relationships. If this is done adequately we ought to have a very good idea of the social life as a legal and moral system. Anthropological interest has hitherto largely concerned itself with origins. Hence even if we pay attention to present functions, it is also the business of the Anthropologist to investigate how each typical institution may have arisen under conditions of very simple society. It is all important moreover to note accurately at what point ascertainable fact ceases and pure theory begins. It is a fallacy to imagine a unilinear evolution of human culture. The theory of independent origins—the Evolutionary School as it is called, failed to explain the complex problems of culture, and a study of the geographical distribution and of the diffusion of cultures was found essential. The diffusionist or the Historical School stressed the importance of historical analysis with particular reference to migrations and culture transmission. Really a branch of the comparative method in general, it is of particular value in the study of the remains yielded by archaeological excavations and researches.

THE INDUS VALLEY CULTURE AND ITS EXTENSIONS

Among the most outstanding of such investigations must be reckoned the studies and researches that are being conducted over the character and extension of the Indus Valley culture as revealed by the discoveries at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. These excavations have given the finishing touches to the study of the prehistory of the Western Asia, rounding off the chain of early civilisations extending from the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean to the borders of the Western India. While on the one hand the archaeological remains bear distinct affinity to the antiquities of the earliest strata at Susa and other chalcolithic sites in South-Western Persia, archaeologists have searched for their links in the areas intervening between this, the earliest known Indian civilisation and the ancient civilisation of Mesopotamia. The work that lies ahead is to explore the extension of the Indus Valley civilisation over the regions to the East and all eyes are directed towards the Gangetic Valley with its unexplored sites for further enlightenment and for filling up the gaps in our knowledge of prehistoric cultures.

The Indus Valley excavations have stimulated research all over the East, and China among other countries has reacted to this stimulus. In the past few years new light has been thrown on the interpretation of the prehistoric and the protohistoric cultures of China based on a hypothesis of Indo Sumerian influence in early China founded on cultural relations which are considered to have a good foundation of probability. Such studies have tended to the conclusion that Chinese culture is not an isolated phenomenon but has a definite trend allied to the ancient Sumerian and Indus Valley cultures.

While the subject is too vast for discussion, I may refer to one of its most interesting side lights—the evolution of the horn pattern; which is best studied from Chinese pottery designs. In the Kansu pottery of North China you have the curly pattern and in South China the hook diaper, either of which is a pictogram for horn and indicates the buffalo. Typical of Sumerian art and of Susian and Babylonese cultures is the unicorn representation of the bull which has a striking parallel in the Chinese character for horn. This has been well traced to the unicorn animal figure of the Indus Valley seals. The unicorn symbolism of the Indus Valley thus finds its counterpart in the Chinese mythological unicorn, which is the symbol of wisdom in statesmanship and of long life and prosperity. A point of special parallel is the representation of the hair or of the folds of skin on the neck in both the Chinese ideogram and on the Indus seals. The horn of the unicorn figure symbolised the wealth and the authority of the peoples of the Indus Valley, as the hook of the Chinese pictogram. Horns have always had a prominent part to play in religious symbolism, and the studies on these tend to the conclusion that horned deities are either the relics of their earlier animal forms or are anthropomorphic forms of such animal gods; or horns are assigned to accentuate the divinity of the gods as an emblem of their power. The bull is a sacred animal in Mohenjodaro, and as in all early art an emphasis is clearly present of the more important features and particularly the horn, the most conspicuous part of the Mohenjodaro bull, the horn which “bends upwards, forwards and upwards again”. The idea of the spirit of the animal acting through the horns is at the bottom of the virtue of the horns which has invested them with a particular sacredness. This sacredness has given the horn a protective virtue and a magical function, attributes which have led early peoples to use it in a variety of ways. Horn shaped pottery is present in burials such as at Adichanallur and elsewhere in South India. The Madras and Bangalore Museums have a few specimens of this interesting type of pottery. Claw like hooks found inside the burial urns in South India have hitherto remained unexplained. The horn motive for the first time gives us a clear interpretation of these hooks. One of the evolved horn patterns as the hook is, as paralleled in the pottery of early China, it is clearly symbolic of the horn. In Adichanallur as elsewhere then we have both the full sized horn shaped pottery outside, as well as the symbolic horn inside the urns. The horn motive associated with these protohistoric peoples may also have symbolised their agricultural wealth as also the authority wielded by them and their prosperity. The hook pattern has also a technological interest, as the hook is no doubt separately made and cleverly engrafted on to the body of the vessel by a spat of clay well smoothed over all around. All meander patterns such as the hook and the curl are derived from the horn symbol. Evolved from this are the double spiral and the double meander or thunder pattern, typical of the classical Chinese art. The swastika has a similar origin and meaning. In Chinese art the swastika is not a symbol of the sun but a symbol of happiness. The axial cross and all symbolism provided by variants of the swastika

have different meanings as we go from country to country. Chinese bronze mirrors have T and L symbolic figures with a central square design with a lotus in the middle representing the cardinal points of Chinese astronomy and of the Middle kingdom. These are presentation mirrors wishing good luck to the recipients. The bent T symbol is the peace symbol and the T with perpendicular lateral drops is interpreted as meaning a house—the whole symbolising family life and happiness. The figure of swastika is composed of four hooks or by the juxta-position of four T's. These studies which I have here alluded to in brief are part of the complex problems connected with recent discoveries in South China,¹ discoveries that go back to 1930 when Prof. Anderson found painted and polished pottery of the neolithic and chalcolithic age and which was considered related to the neolithic pottery discovered in Susa. These investigations unravel the culture of the early Sowan peoples of South China as allied and inter-related to the Near Eastern culture of Sumer. It is an extension possibly traceable to early migrations which must have reached China by the Southern route.

DESIGN AREAS

Studies of this character whether of the past or the present lead us to conclude that each distinct art area has a key design that unlocks the secret of other designs from the same and related areas. Frequently this key design is present either in an easily recognisable form or in conventionalised forms, as the incised frigate bird designs of Polynesia. The problem of showing three dimensional objects in a two dimensional surface is the problem that confronts man's attempts to represent objects of nature through the graphic arts of drawing, engraving or painting. The modern artist employs what is known as perspective in giving a visual presentation of the object. The primitive artist solves this in a different way. He puts into the picture what he considers most significant. The art becomes formalised and the demands of such a stylized art enables the student of primitive art to classify and evaluate designs of primitive art. A concrete example will make this point clear. A symbol largely found in early sculptures of the Buddhist, Gandharan and Amaravati schools of art is the representation of the wheel mounted on a pedestal flanked by a deer on either side. This is so recurring a symbol that it forces on our attention as the key which expounds the meaning of the other Buddhist symbols. A parallel is the triratna or the nandipada over a lotus, on either side of which lies a deer. The two designs conform to the general pattern of "placing a cult object between adorants", as Aravamuthan has shown in a recent paper on "Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture".² In a remarkably lucid exposition of the symbol, he has traced this key design

1. "Some Aspects of South China Archaeological Finds". Rev. R. Maglioni—Hong Kong pp. 209-229 Proc. of the third Cong of Prehistorians of the Far East, Singapore, 1938.

2. P. 46 "Some Survivals of Harappa Culture". Aravamuthan T. G.

to its earlier beginnings in the Indus Valley where the essentials of the same design are found on some of the seals, more particularly on the one familiarly known as the Siva Pasupati seal, which shows a human figure with a horned head-dress seated in a Yogic pose on a pedestal in which are carved two deer 'regardant'. In pose and symbolism the design is a close parallel to the Buddhist design flanked by a deer on either side. The Yogi seated between two groups of animals forms a close replica of the art motive provided by the wheel on pedestal or the nandipada over a lotus or the pair of feet enthroned and flanked by a pair of deer. This key design expounds not only Mohenjodaro symbolism but also unfolds the evolution of the several variants of the symbol of the nandipada or triratna over a circular or a lotus design, one at least of the designs having been traced to Egypt. From the diagrams of the several variants of the design in different areas we are able to see that all the designs share alike and take their cue from the essentials of the key design.

OCEANIC ART AREA

An area of decorative design which has been well studied is the most extensive area of the island world of Oceania. Its most easterly projection is the Easter island near the American coast and its most extreme extension in the West, Madagascar near the African coast while in the North, Hawaii is in proximity to the Aleutian islands of Alaska. This mighty island world has shared the proximity of the great cultural influences of the Asiatic peninsulas of India and South-East Asia and the islands of Indonesia. Exploration of prehistoric sites during the past decade over the regions comprising Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and Indonesia on the one hand and the Oceanic islands and Australia on the other, have shed much light on many obscure problems of prehistory. Based on the archaeological data collected many identical traits have been revealed. Particularly noticeable is the similarity in the prehistoric cultures and industries. A more definite cultural link has been found to exist in the Hoabinhien complex between Australia, Malay and Indo-China although of the precise manner of the diffusion one is left to speculate. Water-worn pebbles form the material of this type of implements which are mainly hand axes. Stone implements in Java largely conform to the type of hand axes of Chelleo-Acheullean type, which Bruce Foote had found associated in the Nerbada beds of India with fossil mammals of middle Pleistocene age. The hand axe culture of Java could possibly have reached there only by way of the Malay Peninsula. The fossil man whether in India or Java who made and used these hand axes still recedes in the background. Stone artifacts of Java from Patjitan district have created great interest in prehistoric circles. Big sized and of excellent workmanship, worked on both sides, the Patjitan paleoliths consist of a curious mixture of core and flake implements. Dr. Van Stein Callensels from an examination of the paleoliths brought together by Paterson and Drummond from the Soane Valley in the North of India, considers that these are essentially identical with the Patjitan paleoliths of Java. He also agrees with Dr. Koeningswald that

the artifacts of the Older Stellenbosch culture from South Africa belong to the same class, the Indian and South African implements showing the same curious mixture of cores and flakes of early paleolithic type.

PALEOLITHIC MAN

The problem now arises of gaining an insight into the human factor behind these cultures. Are the Java paleoliths to be associated with the paleolithic type of early humanity which has been discovered in Java or are they to be ascribed to the later settlers in the Indonesian islands? In attempting to unravel the mystery surrounding early man in Asia, we have to fall back upon our knowledge of the early peoples of Western Europe, the region where evidence of early humanity has been better studied than elsewhere. In taking such a retrospective view, the most outstanding factor we notice is the disposition of early humanity to express themselves in symbols. The Cave men of prehistoric France and Spain painted pictures of animals on rock shelters or engraved on bone and modelled in clay effigies of their favourite animals. These peoples with whom the Upper paleolithic period begins are known as the Aurignacians. Who were these early artists and what was their origin? These are questions to which we have rather concrete answers now. The conclusions are of interest to us, for it has been found that they were emigrants from Asia who migrating from an Asiatic centre moved Westward into Central and Eastern Europe. Known also as the Cro-magnon man, the emigrants advanced on two main lines, the one into Western Europe by Palestine and Caucasus, and the other passed through Arabia into East Africa and to South, and North Africa giving rise to what is known as the Caspian culture. The hypothesis of a Westward migration of Aurignacian man from Asia has been well founded as a result of successive excavations of prehistoric sites, and a study of the phylum of the blade implements in stone which were a feature of the successive waves of Aurignacian peoples, the first to be placed in the same species as modern man, the *Homo Sapiens*. Of the earlier types of men of the paleolithic age we have three from the extreme borders of Asia. The Peking man from China (*Sinanthropus*) the Ape-man of Java (*Pithecanthropus*) and the recent discovery from Trinil in Java called the *Homo Soloensis*. In Europe the counterpart of these Asiatic fore runners of man are the Pitdown man (*Eoanthropus*) and the Neandertal man from the borders of Western Europe. Collectively these predecessors of the modern man represent the border land types not entitled to be admitted into the fold of *Homo Sapiens*, though to judge from the evidence of their burials and of their having made and used rude stone implements, they are entitled to much consideration and respect.

THE NEGROID RACES

The problem of the early races may be viewed from another stand-point namely, the origin of the Negroid races which would seem to take us nearer

the solution. The distribution of the Negroid peoples is the most discontinuous of all races, with an Eastern division represented by a tall group of Papuans and the Melanesians, and a short group of the Negritoes of the Andaman Islands, and a western division comprising the Negroes of Africa and the Pygmy tribes or Negrillos of the Equatorial forests of the same continent. On purely theoretical grounds therefore a Negroid strain has been postulated by anthropologists such as Hrdlicka, in the intermediate regions between Africa and Oceania. The presence of a Negrito race in India has also been recently recognised in the tribes with frizzly hair in Cochin State, Assam, and Santal Parganas. The modern trend of research is thus definitely inclined to the hypothesis of the Negroid stem of mankind having originated in South Asia and spread from their central home of origin to Malay and Indonesia on the East and to Africa on the West. Von Eickstedt designates this the Southern Race of mankind and considers that the Australians and the Melanesians are branches of this Southern race which have successively originated from the South. This centre is hypothetically located in the South of the Pamir High lands, and India is strongly indicated. From here at different times branches have spread over Africa and Australasia. The path of those who migrated towards Austronesia probably lay through the Malay Peninsula and the Sunda Islands. Skeletal material excavated at caves and rock shelters in the Strait Settlements and Perak bear witness to Australoid features, falling definitely within the confines of a group of humanity which are spread over a large area of South East Asia and to Australia. From a consideration of such circumstances as these we are led to conclude that these early races may well be co-ordinated with the men who made and used the stone implements, which are now found in association with the prehistoric cultures of these lands.

FOSSIL MAN IN INDIA

Turning now to India the message of the early population which inhabited India, is conveyed to us by the evidences of Geology and Paleontology. Geologists have told us that throughout the Mesozoic period the Western side of the Peninsula formed part of a land mass continuous with South Africa on the South West, and stretching North East through the present Gangetic delta and the Southern side of the Assam Hills with Australia on the South East. This barrier of land separated the North Sea from the Southern one. The North Sea extended over the North Western part of India and the Himalayas. The end of the Cretaceous period witnessed the breaking up of this ancient Continent, the Gondwana land, parts of which sank beneath the present Arabian Sea in the West and part beneath the Bay of Bengal in the East. In the Northern area the floor of the mid-Eurasian Sea, the Tethys, was crumpled up in successive stages to form the magnificent mountain chains of the Himalayas, driving back the Northern Sea to the limits of the present Mediterranean. The Siwalik Hills at the foot of the Himalayas are a rich mine of fossil beds of many large anthropoids that had lived in India in

the Miocene period and these hills have been a great distributing centre of anthropoids throwing much light on the development of Apes and Man. In their wanderings the anthropoids reached the forests of Africa on one side and the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian Islands on the other, where they still live. With the presence of a vigorous and highly differentiated family of the anthropoid apes in an epoch directly anterior to that of man, the existence of Upper Siwalik Man in India has long been within the range of probability.

THE SOAN CULTURE OF THE NORTH

The history of the Stone Age Man in India of the Pleistocene age and of the Ice Age cycle in Kashmir has been explored by the expedition sent out to India in 1935 under the auspices of the Yale University under De Terra. The Expedition has postulated four distinct glaciations in Kashmir during the Pleistocene separated by three inter glacial stages, and De Terra correlates the first two glacial periods with the three upper Siwalik stages and with the lower Karewas of the Jhelum Basin. Paterson discusses the archaeology of these regions and classifies the cultures as early Soan and late Soan etc. The Soan culture extending throughout the second inter glacial and III glacial periods comprises flake and pebble tools, the latter predominating in the early Soan and the former in the late Soan. The flake cores are reminiscent of the Clactonian but in the late Soan many of them are distinctly Levalloisian in technique. Acheulian *coups-de-poing* are found at a few sites. In the Sind at Rohri and Sukkur there have been found enormous quantity of flint flakes, blades and cores mostly surface finds. Paterson considers that these are probably contemporary with the earliest stages of the Mohenjodaro civilisation, though some of the finds from Sukkur are more patinated than the others and undoubtedly older. From a consideration of the problems involved we are led to conclude that the central geographical position which India occupies in relation to the land masses of Europe, Africa, China and the Indonesian Islands, is a fact of special importance for the proper interpretation of the facts of pre-history. The continued discovery of fossils of primates in the Siwalik hills has given hopes that these discoveries may in time lead to humanid remains being eventually found. The hypothesis has also been put forward by physical anthropologists that the strenuous climatic conditions resulting from the uplift of the Himalayas, were deciding factors in human evolution. Such studies lead us to the conclusion that all dominant movements of mankind were centrifugal from South central Asia, and Griffiths Taylor puts the case forcibly when he says that the occurrence of human remains in a peripheral region tells us where *not* to look for the cradle land of man. Adverse climatic conditions prevented the migration of man to the Americas for a long time, so that internal pressure forced the migrations West and South-West into Europe and Africa, and East and South-East into Asia and Australia.

SOUTH INDIAN PREHISTORY

It remains for us to take a glance at the state of pre-historic studies in South India. The story of South Indian pre-history since the days of Bruce

Footnote it easily told. Speaking generally, there has been no methodical concentration, little visualising of the problems, and no attempt to correlate the studies of geology, palaeontology, and archaeology. The first attempt to resume a systematic investigation in prehistory may be said to date from 1935 when the Madras University sponsored a scheme for the exploration of the laterite formations round about Madras, rich in handaxes and other types of palaeolithic implements which have been found imbedded in the laterite. Krishnaswamy who has been in charge of the work was the first to make a survey of the plateau of the laterite ridges between the Narnavaram and Kortelayar rivers, their stratigraphy, and the paleoliths found associated with them. The investigation has been fruitful of results on such problems as the changes in the configuration of the land in pleistocene and post pleistocene times, and the stratigraphical and cultural sequences. The tools are highly developed in type and variety of form, the dominant types being rounded discoids, elongated handaxes and cleavers. Some localised flake industries have also been found, though as yet no typical upper paleolithic culture has been recognised. An attempt has also been made to unify the cultures by correlating the pebble culture of the Madras sites with the implements of the Soan culture of the North.

There has been so little evidence of prehistoric man from the West Coast that the recent reports by Lieut Commander Todd, of discoveries of paleolithic implements with a few associated fossil remains, from the neighbourhood of Bombay, is of undoubted interest. The implements occur in the Salsette Island, north of Bombay. They are mostly of the Chellean, Acheulean and Clactonian types, paralleled by many examples from Madras. Microliths have also been found. Mention should in this connection be made of the microlithic finds in North Hyderabad where a large number of well made flake blades have been found at Ellora, a notable discovery both by reason of its close proximity to the famous caves and the material of which they are made, translucent opaline chalcedony. Microliths in India have a wide distribution extending from Sind to Orissa, and from Mirzapur, in the north to Cuddapah in the south. It is to be regretted that the investigation of the problem of the Stone Age man in Madras so well begun under the auspices of the Madras University has had to be suspended, when it was in course of successful prosecution. The establishment of a chronological type sequence of the paleolithic cultures with the developmental stages leading on to the protohistoric culture vaguely termed the early Iron Age, still looms large on the horizon of South Indian Prehistory.

THE EARLY IRON AGE

The development of the potter's art such as it has never reached before or since, is an outstanding factor of the protohistoric age. The sacredness of pottery in rituals, and funeral ceremonies obviously gave the momentum which produced the vast output of pottery of elegant forms and designs

which are a credit to the primitive South Indian Art. A subject of great interest to the student of primitive art, is the evolution of art in pottery forms which has not received any sustained attention in South India. A general correspondence in culture is a conspicuous feature of the protohistoric phases, though each site is characterised by its own distinguishing feature too. Thus the fine elegantly shaped black tipped ware of the finger-bowl type, in which the red or buff colour merges into a well shaded black, is present at Adichanallur as in Perumbair and at Kilpauk and the adjacent sites, while a fine all black ware marks off the Fontenoi site in Kilpauk from other sites. In the Fontenoi site too, urn burials and the oblong sarcophagi are both present, while the votive offerings are of particular interest, a fine specimen of black terra cotta figurine of a bird, and a pottery bead being particularly noteworthy. An excavation for a tube well in an adjacent area being brought to the notice of the Museum authorities, an examination was made of the remains unearthed with profitable results, the objects including some types of pottery new to such cultures. The great depth ranging from 20 to 25 feet at which the objects were got, indicates the antiquity of the Iron Age man in this locality. More than ordinary interest attaches to the Kilpauk area as a whole from its vicinity to the more primitive cultures of the Red Hills region.

Among the more outstanding of such isolated finds must be reckoned the ram shaped pottery sarcophagus now in the Madras Museum unearthed at Sankhavaram in Cuddapah district in 1935. The cavity enclosed by the body of the ram contained an interment of skeletal remains in association with iron implements and an array of pottery of low squat form, and thin all black basins, both of excellent workmanship. Of organised excavations, a more sustained effort is evident in the systematic work carried out by the department of Archaeology of the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam, than elsewhere in South India. Excavations of the character of those conducted at Kadkal, Maski and Paithan have not been attempted by any organisation outside the agency of the Archaeological Survey of India. A site for which great claims have been made in the past few months is the ancient site of Arikamedu, a small hillock near Virapattana, within the French settlement of Pondicherry. A variety of antiquities turned out during the course of an year of preliminary diggings, comprising of beads, terracottas, figurines, potsherds etc. has revealed the character of the site, while the recent reports of the inscribed potsherds have added to its interest in archaeological circles. How far work on the site will solve the problem of evolving a comparative sequence of South Indian cultures, time alone will reveal.

THE RACIAL PROBLEM

Investigations of racial problems have been to the fore in the past decade and the progress made has been considerable, though dealing with a land of such vast dimensions and differences as India, the problem is a most complicated one, not easy of solution. The pages of the Census of India bear

eloquent testimony to the work turned out in this branch of investigation. Anthropologists are far from agreed on this problem of racial classification. But divergence of views notwithstanding, a general agreement is noticeable on major issues. Obviously what is needed here is a co-ordination of efforts and greater opportunities for personal contact, and discussion among workers in the same field which is lacking. To Karl Pearson we owe the modern statistical methods, which provide an effective means of dealing with problems of racial analysis, and though great progress has been made in applying them to anthropological material, a great deal remains to be done in standardising the methods. The advances in modern genetics have also been of service to anthropology. Anthropologists are essentially concerned with the inheritance of group characteristics; their real concern is with populations, not with individuals. As supplementary to the work of racial classification some advance has been made in the last few years in testing blood groups. Based on agglutinative reactions, bloods are divided into groups O, A, B, AB. Bloods of the O division are those whose red cells carry neither of the agglutinogens or the agglutinative factors. A bloods carry the A agglutinogens only, B bloods carry the B factor and AB bloods have the two agglutinogens A and B. Blood type classification is of value in getting corroborative evidence of racial analysis, though in practice the scheme presents difficulties in arriving at such corroboration. Similarities of reaction for the A and B factors have been observed between Asia and Africa which bear some resemblance to the lines of hypothetical migrations between Asia and Africa.

ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN

In Anthropology there are terms of cultural origin which have been loosely employed with various racial, linguistic and cultural implications. Such are the terms Aryan and Dravidian, used to denote both the peoples and their culture. These terms do not denote the physical characters of any race of mankind but are terms denoting a definite culture and certain groups of languages. It is being increasingly recognised that race is essentially a biological and not a cultural concept, and that it is to be judged from the physical characters and not from language, history or traditions. Whether the Aryan represents a single race or more than one physical type, is an open question. The physical type represented by the term Aryan is generally assumed to have been the original Nordic and to conclude from the recent explorations of Sir Aurel Stein and of others in the Steppe Region of Turkistan, the area must be considered to have given rise to the characterisation of the true Nordic, still represented by the Khurds of Kurdistan, and Turkoman of the Central Asian steppes. The Nordics have long been known as the Caucasian race from Caucasia, typical steppe land whose tribes are semi nomadic shepherd peoples. The physical characteristic of the Nordic are tall stature, reddish-white skin, blue or grey eyes, wavy or curly hair of fair to light brown in colour, prominent narrow nose, large wellfilled mesocephalic skull, and strongly developed facial bones and jaw. It is

clear that to apply this description to India, none of her sons would seem to fall within this racial category. As Guha has summed up, the statistical analysis of the data collected, reveals that the basis of the Indian population in general as Eickstedt also recognises, is a short dolichocephalic strain with high head and moderately broad nose, over which had superimposed a brachycephalic race in Western and Eastern India and a proto Nordic in N. W. India; the advent of the latter synchronising with the invasion of the Vedic Aryans". It is therefore futile to search for the Nordic type in India and caste in India shows no correspondence with the race concept, though racial discrimination was no doubt one of the many factors in the growth of the social structure of the endogamous castes. Evidently the migration of the blonde Nordic races,—for it is not right to stress the modern idea of a invasion in regard to the dispersal of early peoples,—has had an influence over the destiny of India *different* from the dispersal of the same stock over the Western lands; an influence which is more evident on the cultural, linguistic and literary aspects than on the racial side. The Indo-Aryan language Sanskrit, and the derived forms, have been the vehicle for expressing the dominant ideas of Indian culture, on which account we speak of an Aryan culture. The probable line of movement of the Aryan speaking people has also been a matter of enquiry and it is considered probable that in the blonde Mittanians of the Caucasian origin who were Sanskrit speaking pastoral peoples, of whom we hear in the Hittite tables of the 17th century B. C., we have a section of the Aryan tribes who spread to the South.

The wider question of nomenclature in Indian racial analysis need not detain us. What the anthropologist has to set his face against is any tendency to twist scientific theories to suit political ends, or to create a dogma of racial superiority as a political weapon, as Nazi Germany has done with the doctrine it has upheld of the superiority of the "Aryan race" with the mystic symbol of the swastika. Considering the mischief wrought in European politics by such extravagant and perverted views of anthropological theories, there is considerable weight in Karl Pearson's utterance presiding over the Anthropology section of the British Association in 1920, that if the Science of Man had been as far developed as the physical sciences, there would probably have been no war.

I have now passed in review some of the more important of the present day problems in Anthropology, such as can be properly brought within the compass of an Address. While these testify to the vital interests of the problems concerned, the greatest asset of anthropology to civilisation is its contribution as an applied science, which it pre-eminently is to-day. It is because anthropology deals with something that is not static, but is ever changing, that it has shown its greatest development in the last quarter of a century as an applied Science. Scientists and economists have stressed the need for co-ordinating change in man with every degree of advance in Science, in the ultimate interests of the welfare of human societies as the test of real

progress. The contribution of scientific discoveries to world's progress, and how such discoveries impinge upon human society and the economic life of the population, are among the most insistent of the problems of the day, and the anthropologist has to join hands with the economist in studying such reactions in human society, rural or urban. The need for an anthropological approach to world's problems, is all the more felt at the present moment, when the world is in the throes of a struggle such as the human race has never witnessed before. The War has been with us for over two years. Ideas and ways of life are undergoing a process of adjustment side by side with our determined efforts for victory. The War again is a war of ideas and cultures, the issues in which are of profound consequence to the welfare of mankind, and in the reconstruction of the postwar society, the student of the Science of Man will have a large role to play! The world needs the services of the anthropologist to serve mankind in the hour of its need.

Having claimed so much for Anthropology, its future is linked up with the training of the young mind in the problems of Social Science; and I cannot better conclude than with these words of H. G. Wells:—"The end and aim of all education is to teach of the beginnings of life upon this little planet and how these beginnings have unfolded; to show how man has arisen through the long ages from amidst the beasts, and the nature of the struggle God wages through him".

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TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY KHAN BAHADUR M. SANALLAH, ARCHAEOLOGICAL CHEMIST.

The Development of Technical Knowledge in India, in Early Times.

The progress of human civilization is closely connected with the discovery and utilisation of useful materials, and the disseminations of the technical knowledge thus acquired. Therefore in order to arrive at a proper understanding of the contributions made by the ancients towards the development of scientific and technical knowledge, it is necessary to study the objects left by them not only for their artistic merits but also for their technical aspects. In modern exploration the objects recovered from ancient sites are subjected to most searching examination by the best available scientific methods to elicit all possible information regarding their origin, composition and technique. In fact, these scientific studies already bid fair to become a distinct branch of modern Archaeology. Let me illustrate this point by a couple of examples. Some iron beads were found in the Predynastic graves of Egypt and the question naturally arose whether the Egyptians of that remote period know the art of iron smelting; and if not, whence came this metal? The chemical analysis of the material at once settled this point. It was found that the metal contained 7.5 per cent. of nickel and was therefore part of a meteorite. Another instance recalls the confusion that once existed regarding the occurrence of bronze in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The situation has since been cleared up with the help of chemical analysis of authentic specimens from these sources and the conclusion has been reached that this alloy occurs only sporadically in the Middle Kingdom period and did not come into regular use until the XII Dynasty. On the other hand, it was freely employed in Mesopotamia as far back as 3500 B. C., but again fell into disuse about 2700 B. C. The conclusions regarding the technology of Indian materials described here are based similarly on archaeological and scientific evidence at our disposal.

The parallel civilizations of Egypt and Sumer have been regarded as the most ancient which influenced the Mediterranean, Europe and Asia. However, their exclusive or rival claims as the cradles of human civilization have been seriously challenged recently by the discovery of an equally well-developed and in some respects superior culture which flourished in the valley of the Indus, in the 4th and 3rd millenia. Therefore the materials and objects recovered from the Indus sites are well-suited for comparison with those found in Egypt and Sumer. The Indus people had evolved well-organized urban

life and had established various important industries to fulfil their needs and bring them prosperity of which there is ample evidence. They were great agriculturists, skilful craftsmen in pottery, stone, shell, ivory, faience, metal-work, dyeing, weaving, glazing, etc. Above all they were great metallurgists of their times.

While the extensive explorations in Upper India have produced a wealth of material of great variety, the ancient sites of the Deccan peninsula have not yet divulged much of their hidden secrets. The excavations which have been carried out mostly in the Prehistoric burial grounds (situated in Tinnevely, Adichanallur, Perumbair, Malabar and Coimbatore districts; Hyderabad State, etc., have yielded a variety of iron implements such as swords, daggers, spearheads, etc., beads, gold diadems, bronze figures and utensils, and the characteristic red and black polished pottery. The remarkable excavations carried out recently by the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government at Maski, have brought to light an early and important industrial centre where gold, iron, glass, beads, etc., were manufactured. However, it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions regarding the technical knowledge possessed by the early inhabitants of the Deccan, until these interesting materials have been examined by scientific methods.

I shall now deal with the most important materials employed in Prehistoric times in India.

IRON AND STEEL

In South India Stone Age passed directly into Iron Age without the intervention of Copper or Bronze Age, as was the case in Upper India; therefore, Iron must have come into use in the South at a very early period. The remarkable discovery of numerous iron implements in the Tinnevely District and remains of smelting operations which are scattered all over the peninsula, testify to the existence of a flourishing iron industry in South India in early times.

The researches of Hadfield on ancient specimens of iron and steel of Indian and Sinhalese origin, have shewn that a considerable degree of metallurgical knowledge had been acquired in ancient India. Wrought iron of great purity and even steel were manufactured and exported to foreign countries. The art of casehardening or cementation, was undoubtedly an Indian invention. These conclusions have naturally evoked considerable interest among scientists and archaeologists and it is generally believed that the elaborate carvings on the stone monuments in Egypt, which consist of such hard and refractory materials as granite, quartzite sandstone, etc., were executed by means of chisels made of Indian steel. A century ago, Heath remarked as follows regarding Indian steel:—"The antiquity of the Indian process is no less astonishing than its ingenuity. We can hardly doubt that the tools with

which the Egyptians covered their obelisks and temples of porphyry and syenite with hieroglyphics were made of Indian steel. There is no evidence to show that any of the nations of antiquity besides the Hindoos were acquainted with the art of making steel." Hadfield also came to the same conclusion that the Indians were familiar with the manufacture of steel from times immemorial and believed that the Egyptians either imported the material or obtained the services of Indian craftsmen for its manufacture. However, it is obvious that the problem of the antiquity of iron and steel in India is a vast subject which cannot be settled without further archæological and scientific research.

The only object of iron found in the Indus valley is a leaf-shaped arrow-head recently discovered by Dr. Mackay at Chanhu-daro, which shows that iron was rare in the early part of 3rd millenium.

COPPER AND ITS ALLOYS

Copper was the first useful metal employed by mankind. As in Egypt and Mesopotamia, copper has been known in India also from times immemorial. The discovery of large quantities of prehistoric copper implements imitating Neolithic forms, and extensive heaps of old slag with signs of ancient workings, which are scattered over the various copper-mining districts of the country, point to the existence of a flourishing copper industry in early times. In the opinion of competent authorities, oxidized copper ores, (which are easy to smelt) were utilised in the beginning for the extraction of the metal. However, in some of these ancient workings the shafts have been sunk deep into the sulphide ore which must therefore have been utilised also, for this purpose. This fact indicates a distinct advance in the metallurgy of copper, as the treatment of sulphide ore involves a much more complicated process. The efficiency of the ancient methods may be judged from the fact that in the slag left behind the ancient smelters in the Singhbhum mines, the proportion of copper that had escaped reduction hardly exceeds 25 per cent. A further proof of the use of sulphite ores at an early period is afforded by the analysis of lumps of crude copper found at Mohenjo-daro, which sometimes contain excessive amounts of sulphur; and this can only be due to imperfect roasting of such ores. Copper as well as bronze must have been manufactured in India in the 4th and 3rd millenia since the objects found in the Indus valley generally contain small proportions of nickel and arsenic, which have been shown to be the characteristic impurities of Indian copper ores.

Bronze has been found at the earliest levels in the Indus sites, which cannot be later than 3500 B. C. Various objects, such as domestic utensils, ornamental pieces, tools and weapons, were made by casting or hot-working of the alloy. Bronze being an expensive material in early times owing to the scarcity of tin, the alloy containing 8-13 per cent. tin was employed chiefly for special tools and weapons requiring keen and durable edges. For ordinary implements and other objects, poorer grades and even an alloy of copper and

arsenic were commonly employed; and these ingenious people knew that the cutting edges of the tools made of such inferior alloys could be improved considerably by coldhammering. The *cire perdue* casting process and the use of lead for rendering bronze more fluid for casting, were not known to Early Indians. In South India, objects of iron and bronze are frequently found together and it is a remarkable fact that the latter contain an excessive amount of tin, indicating abundant supplies of this metal. As tin ore does not occur in the Deccan it will be interesting to locate the source which supplied this metal so liberally.

SILVER

There was no dearth of this metal in India even in early times. For instance, many silver objects have been found in the Indus valley besides over hundred silver laminae in the famous Gungaria hoard. It was most probably obtained from argentiferous lead, thus implying the knowledge of the cupellation process. The manufacture of ornamental objects and vases was accomplished by alternate hammering and annealing, as it is done at the present day. Soldering of silver was also known.

OTHER METALS

Gold, lead and tin which are the remaining metals known in antiquity need not detain us; since their production and utilisation involve very simple techniques, which have been known to all the ancient civilized nations.

GLAZE AND GLASS

The art of glazing goes back to the earliest periods in Egypt, Babylonia and India. A few fragments of glazed pottery have been recovered from Mohenjo-daro and these are probably the earliest known specimens of glazed pottery. However, glazed objects of 'faience' and steatite are quite common in the Indus sites where the art was practised on a considerable scale. The popular colours were bluish-green and blue which were formed by the addition of copper compounds to the fruit. Chocolate and black shades were produced by the use of manganese and iron oxides respectively. Cobalt-blue glaze was rare. As an alkali is a necessary ingredient of glaze, therefore it is presumed that the old method for the manufacture of crude sodium carbonate (sajji), by the fusion of the ashes of certain plants, must have been known in India from the earliest times. Although glass and glaze are chemically identical substances; yet the invention of glass as a distinct material seems to have occurred much later, as the earliest specimens of glass found so far in India cannot be older than 4th Century B. C.

MISCELLANEOUS CERAMIC MATERIALS

One of the most interesting materials found in the Indus valley is 'faience' (or vitreous paste) which was manufactured on a considerable scale,

and employed for beads, bangles, small vases, figurines and miscellaneous ornamental objects. Its chemical analysis shows that it contains on the average about 90 per cent. of silica, the rest being alumina, ferric oxide, lime, and alkalis, besides 5 per cent. copper oxide or other colouring ingredients. The prevailing colour of the faience (or vitreous paste) is bluish-green, while blue, chocolate, black and white specimens have also been found. From its composition it may be inferred that finely ground quartz sand was mixed with a glass flux and the colouring matter; but we do not know how the mixture was endowed with plasticity. Clay or gum have been suggested but I think sodium silicate (which can be easily made by the fusion of sand and soda) was employed for this purpose. The objects having been moulded out of this paste, were dried and fired at a bright red heat. Finally, they were coated with the glazing mixture or fit and fired again in the furnace. 'Faience' has been found also in Mesopotamia and Egypt at a very early period and Mackay is inclined to credit Mesopotamia or Elam with the invention of this interesting material. However, in the Indus valley, steatite has sometimes been substituted for sand in another variety of faience, which has no counterpart anywhere else.

Another interesting technique which was peculiar to the Indus Culture, relates to the utilisation of steatite for making seals (or amulets), bangles, statuettes, beads etc. The objects having been carved and finished out of this soft material, were placed in a closed vessel and fired at red heat in the furnace, for sufficient time. By the action of heat, steatite is converted into a very hard material, but its surface gets covered up with a network of fine cracks. This defect was remedied by the application of a white slip over the surface which was then highly polished. A very pleasing ivory-like effect was thus obtained.

Pottery making was an extensive industry in India from remote antiquity, but it will be superfluous to discuss its simple technique as it has been handed down to the present day potter without material change. The fine earthenware bangles which are peculiar to the Indus valley deserve special mention. These are usually red, black, or mottled white in colour, with an exquisitely polished surface and a fine vitreous body. The material consists of clay with a high proportion of iron oxide, lime and magnesia, and it must have been fired at a high temperature to effect its vitrification. The polishing appears to have been done on the lathe.

The natural minerals employed for the preparation of pigments in early India, were calcium carbonate, gypsum, terre verte, red and yellow ochres, besides charcoal or lamp-black. Gypsum and lime were burnt for use as mortars in the Indus period. Bitumen has been employed at Mohenjo-daro as a waterproofing material.

There are several other industrial materials such as shell, ivory, textile fibres, ordinary and semi-precious stones, cereals, wood etc., which were used

in Early India, but their utilisation involved essentially certain mechanical operations or devices the details of which are not known.

In presenting this account of the Technical knowledge in Early India, the materials discovered in the Indus Valley have been dealt with prominently, not because they represent the earliest phase of our civilization which has been properly investigated and are therefore most suitable for critical or comparative studies; but also because many of the old technical processes which have been in vogue in India until recently, can be traced back to the Indus period, like some of our social, domestic and religious traditions.

NON-LOCAL LANGUAGES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY DR. BABURAM SAKSENA, M. A., D. Litt.

Some Problems of Modern Indian Languages

At the outset I express my sincere gratitude to the organisers of the conference for electing me to preside over this section. I may say that I feel not a little embarrassed at immediately succeeding, in this position, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who is the acknowledged leader of the Indian Linguists of the present generation. Many of us have had the privilege of sitting at the feet of eminent Indologists such as Professors Turner, Bloch and others of the West, yet few of us can deny that the enthusiasm that we are keeping up in the depressing circumstances in this country for the study of Linguistics is mostly due to the inspiration that we derive from the noble example of our beloved doyen, Professor Chatterji.

GRIERSON AND TAGORE

Mention of the foremost workers in the field, at once brings to our mind the good old master, Sir George Abraham Grierson, the last of the workers of an earlier generation; he is now no more amongst us. Several of us had personal contact with Sir George and shall miss not only the genial personality of the sage, but also the encouragement that we received from him at every stage of our special studies. Sir George's stupendous work in the shape of the volumes of the Linguistic survey of India gave a certain and definite status to the modern Indian languages in the perspective of the languages of the world. He was not only a linguist with his interest limited to the formation of various languages; he was a *litterateur* also. His works on the Literature of Hindustan and on the Social Life in Bihar will long remain classics. He was an admirer of Tulsidās and edited and translated Jāyasi's Padmāvat. One of his last works was the translation of the Sanskrit work of Vidyāpati, viz., of the Puruṣa-Parīkṣā. His demise has deprived us of one who, although a foreigner, loved and worked on our languages as much as most of us can only aspire to do.

Another loss here at home of the *Viśva-kavi* Shri Rabindra Nath Thakkur has deprived India of its voice and the world of a true messenger from God. The *Viśva-kavi* through his inspiring poems showed to the modern world that the modern Indian languages are as capable of the highest expression as any other language—ancient or modern. His love and pride for Bengālī were unbounded and his employment of Bengālī for the first time to deliver the convocation address at the Calcutta University gave to an Indian language its rightful place in its own land.

Modern Indian languages do not have a very satisfactory position yet in this Conference which aims at bringing together all workers of Indology. At the first three sessions of the Conference, none of these had any place. At the next (Allahabad) session we introduced Hindi and Urdū for the first time. Lahore added Panjābī while Patna substituted Bengālī. The seventh session held at Baroda had Gujarātī and Marāṭhī besides Hindi and Urdū. The Mysore Session divided modern Indian languages into two separate sections—General and Provincial. This arrangement was kept up at the next (Trivandrum) session while the last (Tirupathi) had under the provincial category—three separate sections, viz, Tāmil, Marāṭhī and Hindi. The present session of the Conference has re-christened the two sections General and Modern as Non-local languages and local languages respectively, the latter divided into four (Urdū, Marāṭhī, Telugū and Kannaḍa), the former being kept to serve for the rest of the languages. I hope the Conference will consider and adopt some more satisfactory and stable grouping of our languages. I make this proposal in all humility for practical reasons. So far the General (or Non-local) section has been presided over by Linguisticians whose main concern is more to probe Indian Languages from the point of view of formation of language than from the viewpoint of literary growth, survey and requirements. This part of our work, I submit, is done under the Philology (Indian Linguistics section), so that there is a certain overlapping of effort, besides the neglect of the literary side—not a negligible phase.

PLACE OF MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES IN THE SCHEME OF EDUCATION

Modern Indian Languages have not been able to obtain their proper and legitimate position in the scheme of education in our land. English continues to be the medium of instruction and examination at all the universities except at the Osmania. It is a pity that the lead given by Hyderabad has not yet been followed even by Aligarh and Benares. Certain obstacles are put forward to thwart any scheme of adopting the mother tongue (or in the alternative the nearest literary form) as medium of instruction. I believe that there are none now who do not admit the advisability of such a step but yet they see difficulties in the way. Let us, therefore, examine, even at the cost of repetition, some of the so-called impediments.

(I) THE LABEL?

We are told that there is a vast number of languages spoken in this land. The Pandits of the census department tell us of 225 languages—Indian, besides 17 of other Asiatic and African countries and 20 of European origin. The number is surely staggering. But look at the table which assigns the number of speakers to each group of languages.—

TABLE I

		No. of Lgs.	No. of speakers.
A—Languages of India & Burma		225	34,98,87,527
(i) Austric		19	52,42,708
(ii) Tibeto-Chinese		156	1,53,62,774
(iii) Dravidian		14	7,16,44,787
(iv) Indo-European		27	25,74,92,805
(a) Iranian	3	22,70,466	
(b) Dardic	5	15,22,936	
(c) Indo-Aryan	19	25,36,99,403	
(v) Unclassed		9	54,453
B—Other Asiatic and African Languages		17	3,02,324
C—European languages		20	3,39,706

It is clear from the figures given above that the Indo-European languages account for 25½ crores, Dravidian for 7 crores, Tibeto-Chinese for 1½ crores and Austric for only ½ crore. The speakers of unclassified languages as also of foreign languages together make only about 7 lacs. Tibeto-Chinese languages are spoken chiefly in Burma with which India has to do little now—of these 156, only one, *viz.*, Burmese has any literary and practical importance. None of the Austric (Mundā) languages, 19 in number, may aspire for many generations to come to have a flourishing literature. We are to exclude the foreign languages, so that we are left with the Indo-European (Aryan) and Dravidian languages whose number together is 41 (27+14). Compare this with 262 with which we were confronted! But let us see further. The chief languages of the Dravidian family are 5 (Tāmil, Telugu, Malayālam and Kannaḍa and Brāhui) and not 14. Of the Indo-European languages, Iranian (with only Pasto of any practical importance out of 3) accounts for about 23 lacs of speakers and Dardic (with Kāshmīrī only which possesses some potentiality out of 5) has only 15 lacs. The following table giving details about the two major groups, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, will clarify the position:—

TABLE II

1. Lahndi	85,66,000	
2. Sindhī	40,07,000	
3. Marāṭhī	2,08,90,000	
4. Oriyā	1,11,94,000	
5. Bihārī	2,79,27,000	
6. Bengālī	5,34,69,000	
7. Assāmī	19,99,000	
8. Hindī	7,84,14,000	
[Eastern		68,67,000
Western		7,15,47,000]
9. Rājasthānī	1,38,98,000	
10. Gujarātī	1,08,50,000	
11. Pañjābī	1,58,39,000	
12. Bhilī	21,89,000	
13. Pahārī	27,52,000	
[Central		7,000
Nepālī		4,13,000
Western		23,26,000]
14. Tāmil	2,04,12,000	
15. Malayālam	91,38,000	
16. Kannaḍa	1,12,06,000	
[Coorgi or Kondugu		45,000
Tulu		6,52,000]
17. Oraon etc.	36,09,000	
18. Telugū	2,63,74,000	
19. Brāhui	2,07,000	

Of the 19 languages mentioned above, several, *e. g.*, Lahndī, major portion of Bihārī, Rājasthānī, Bhilī, Pahārī, Orāon, etc., and Brāhui do not aspire for an independent literary existence. Sindhī with 40 lacs of speakers and Assāmī with 20 lacs will have to toil long and steadily to gain a secure position as literary tongues. Thus from a practical point of view we are left with only ten principal languages for this subcontinent accounting for a population now (1941) of 388 millions and odd. In this perspective to call this land a babel of languages is to stretch the linguistic niceties too far and to stress the bogey of our heterogeneity.

I submit that these provincial languages should take the place of English as media of instruction and examination, progressively up to the highest stage of instruction. The decision of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U. P., to have Hindī or Urdū as the medium of instruction and examination, is in the right direction, and it is hoped steps will be taken by the various Universities of the provinces to follow it up.

The position in the United Provinces is difficult owing to the controversy between Urdū and Hindī, but even then it would be wise to have either of these as the medium at various universities, according to the population demanding one or the other. To postpone this reform till the solution of the Hindi-Urdū controversy would be to wait for several decades, possibly. Leaving the question of portions of Northern India apart, there is little difficulty in having Marāṭhī, Oriyā, Bengālī, Gujarātī, Tāmīl, Malayālam, Kannaḍa and Telugū in their respective domains. It is true that some of these cover more than one Province or Native State, or are only portions of a big province or state. But an arrangement of Educational institutions to cater for several provinces may be conveniently made irrespective of any readjustment of Provinces on purely linguistic basis. The Calcutta University had for long a jurisdiction extending up to Agra and Meerut, and only 15 years back, the University of Allahabad had the Central Provinces (including Berar), Central India and Rajputana, besides the United Provinces within its scope. So if we have a Telugū University for the future Andhra Province and for a portion of the Hyderabad State, or if the Marāṭhī University at Poona operates over portions of the Bombay Presidency as also over the Marāṭhī speaking portions of the Central Provinces, there would be no harm.

I believe that it is very much more convenient to have a neighbouring literary form of language as the medium rather than give this position to an International language, 6000 miles away from our land. With this belief, I put forward the suggestion in all humility, that the people of Bihar and Rajasthan should consider the plea for Hindī to replace English, and that the people of Assam should consider the advisability of having Bengālī. I know the strength of sentiment in Mithilā and in Assam in favour of the mother-tongue, but whether Assam with 20 lacs of speakers of Assāmī and Mithilā with a small proportion of speakers of Maithilī in comparison to the numerous speakers of the other two dialects, Bhojapurī and Magahī, in the Province of Bihar, could press their claims with any practical advantages is for them to consider. Similarly Sindhī with a population of 40 lacs has a problem of its own. Lahndī with its number coming to about one crore of speakers might combine profitably with Pañjābī. It is a fortunate augury that the movement for giving Pañjābī its rightful place is gaining ground in the Panjab and one feels relieved to find that the communal canker has kept away from this. The Panjabi Association under Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha is doing good work and, I believe, will have the support and co-operation of the Provincial Government.

(ii) LOCAL MINORITIES

Some other difficulties put up in the way of adopting the mother-tongue as the medium, are the problems of minorities and of teachers in employment at present. For example, the Upper India people in Calcutta or the Bengālī speakers in the United Provinces have genuine apprehensions. Similarly the non-Hindī teachers at the Universities in the United Provinces are afraid of

the handicaps they would suffer from if the languages of the Provinces were accepted as media of instruction. It should be admitted at once that these are sincere and real difficulties. Some of these can be met by having certain transitory arrangements to accommodate those who may suffer from handicaps, but no arrangements can ever be satisfactory unless the people have a generous spirit and give unstinted and honest co-operation. The people of Upper India and Rajasthan settled in Calcutta, for instance, should help the Calcutta University to become a real University of Bengal. I appeal to all lovers of education to help Indian languages to establish themselves as the media of instruction and examination throughout our land. When this consummate condition is accomplished, even then it may be necessary to maintain a central college teaching through English, at a central place in our country, to accommodate some interests. I should not oppose such a measure.

Another desideratum is to have modern Indian languages as independent subjects of study at the various universities in India. It is a pity that while we give such a privileged position to English and other European languages, ancient and modern, we have little room in our universities for such important languages as Chinese, Japanese or modern Arabic and modern Persian. And it is distressing to comprehend that we in Northern India have no facilities to know Telugū and Tāmil, for instance, or our compatriots in the south should have no arrangement to know and appreciate Hindi and Bengālī. In this connection we should bow our heads with respect to the spirit of the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji who gave a lead in this matter—a real patriot's lead which, one notes with sorrow, has not been followed. Let us hope that the attention of our leaders of education will now be attracted towards this point and our Linguisticians will press it forward in their own spheres of activity.

TECHNICAL TERMS

The greatest obstacle in the way of adopting our own languages as the media of education is, of course, the absence of technical terms for all sciences and arts. Useful work in this direction has been done by some non-official bodies, such as the Vernacular Scientific Society of Allahabad; the Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā of Benares, the Marāṭhī Sāhitya Pariṣad and others. Grateful mention in this connection should be made of the labour of love even at present of Dr. Satya Prakash of Allahabad and of Shri Yashavant Rao Date of Poona. Of late Dr. Satya Prakash has prepared, under the auspices of the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, Allahabad, a list of about 2000 words of some technical nature as are in current use in journalism in Hindī, Bengālī, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. Professor S. K. Chatterji has kindly assisted him. The University of Calcutta has now a vocabulary complete for the arts and sciences taught up to the Matriculation stage in Bengālī. But by far the most laudable effort in this matter has been made by the Osmania University who have a full list of technical terms in Urdū. They have taken Arabic and Persian as their basis, as far as structure of the terms goes, but have not excluded

current Indian words if they could come in their scheme. This ready-made list can be used with advantage for any other Education Boards or Universities that may propose to adopt Urdū as their medium.

The Congress Government of Bihar set up a Hindustānī Committee to prepare technical terms in Hindustānī, in the main with other purposes. The Committee approved of the suggestion to base the terms on current Hindustānī as far as possible, to avoid the tug of war between Hindī and Urdū. I was a member of the committee and sincerely cooperated with Dr. Tara Chand, the sponsor of the proposal, with an open mind. I worked with him to a certain stage and discovered that the endeavour to base the technical terms on Hindustānī material unaided by any classical language was hopeless. Hindustānī, an analytical tongue like other modern Indo-Aryan tongues, is lacking not only in the requisite root-material but is also wanting in the various devices of prefixation, suffixation, infixation, compounding, reduplication and in various permutations and combinations of terminations. My idea that we must have a classical language as the basis for these terms found confirmation in this effort. In many cases the technical terms settled by this Committee are whole phrases and not single terms, while in many others unable to find Hindustānī terms, it was decided to have parallel Arabic and Sanskrit terms. When I found that in the tussle between two classics, the exotic was being given a supremacy in our own land, I quietly withdrew from the Committee. I realised to my sorrow that until a section of our countrymen have real Indian sentiment, a common solution of this problem is not possible.

This problem of the technical terms has engaged the attention of a few other Provincial governments such as Bombay and Madras but by far the latest consideration to it was given by the Central Advisory Board of Education. It appointed an influential committee with the Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari as Chairman to go into this question. The report of the Committee will be found in the Proceedings of the sixth meeting of the Board, published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi this year, (Ec 4. VI price 14 annas). I hope every linguist will study this document. The main recommendations made by the Board are the following :—

“I. That in order to promote the further development of scientific studies in India, it is desirable to adopt a common terminology so far as may be practicable and full regard should be had to attempts which have already been carried out with this object in view.

“II. That in order to maintain the necessary contact between scientific development in India and similar developments in other countries, the scientific terminology adopted for India should assimilate wherever possible those terms which have already secured general inter-national acceptance. In view, however, of the variety of languages in use in India and of the fact that these are not derived from one common parent stock, it will be necessary to employ in addition to an international terminology, terms borrowed or adopted from

the two main stocks to which most Indian languages belong as well as terms which are in common use in individual languages.

An Indian scientific terminology will therefore consist of—

- (i) An international terminology, in its English form, which will be employed throughout India ;
- (u) terms peculiar to individual languages whose retention on the ground of familiarity may be essential in the interest of popular education. In the higher stages of education terms from category (i) may be progressively substituted for those in (u).

“III. To ensure the steady and uniform growth of scientific terminology on an all-India basis, it is desirable that there should be a Central Board of Reference with expert sub-committees whose guidance on general issues and decisions on specific issues submitted to them would be accepted by Provincial Governments and other regional bodies concerned.

“IV. That on the assumption that Indian languages may be divided into two main groups, viz., (i) Sanskritic and (u) Perso-Arabic groups, Boards should be set up for each group with the object of evolving a common terminology within the group.

“V. That for the sake of uniformity, mathematical processes and formulae, in Urdū should be written from left to right.

“VI. That to promote uniformity and to encourage the widest possible use of the terms approved, the authorities responsible for authorising the use of text-books should see that only those are sanctioned which employ the terms in question.”

—pp. 71-72 as modified by item 7 on p. 5.

On the whole, one with a practical sense of things should agree with the recommendations of the Board. There is considerable scope for incorporation of terms from Indian languages under the recommendation No. II (ii). Let us hope that the various universities and Education Boards as also other learned bodies will take up this question in right earnest, working in mutual co-operation, and remove one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the progress of modern Indian languages. It is unfortunate that the solution of the problem proceeds in two different directions, Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic, but if there is necessary good will on either side, it is possible to have some common ground by Indianising the foreign material and by modernising (Prakritisisation) the ancient vocables. One should leave it at that, with the hope that the linguists will offer their best co-operation in this matter.

LINGUA FRANCA

With the growth of national self-respect and progressively with the realisation of the aspiration of self-government in the political sphere, the

question of a language for inter-provincial contact has agitated our minds. It is well-nigh universally conceded by all right-thinking people (barring a few internationalists) that this position should go to an Indian language. As Mahatma Gandhi has observed more than once, English would have a restricted use in India as a useful Inter-national language, and for inter-provincial contact there can be no other practical suggestion than to adopt Hindī (Hindustānī). The movement for Hindī has been misunderstood in certain quarters and it has been apprehended that Hindī desires to dominate over other modern Indian languages. As a speaker of Hindī and perhaps also as a representative of Hindī people, I may assert that this apprehension is incorrect. It has never been the intention of the workers for Hindī that they should create conditions whereby any modern Indian language may be superseded in its own sphere. We want each of these to grow and prosper. To include Hindī as a compulsory subject of study in an area where there is any opposition, would be inadvisable. And in any case it is beset with unnecessary danger for the Hindī movement, until we are able to cast off the domination which English has had in this land up to the present. The Hindī movement is clearly for establishing Hindī as *Umgangssprache* or *Verkehrssprache* only, in the areas where there are other languages spoken or literary. This, however, does not bar and should not bar its being the *Kultursprache* in the areas where it already occupies this position, for instance in Central India and Rajasthan or Hindustānī Central Provinces.

The controversy between Hindī and Urdū has exercised the minds of some sections of our people outside the Hindī area. As far as the common colloquial or interprovincial language is concerned this anxiety is meaningless as the difference between the two is negligible in this restricted sphere. The vocabulary is generally the same, except that a man with leanings towards Sanskrit prefers some Sanskrit words while one with exotic inclinations would detest them and choose words of Perso-Arabic origin instead. But the number of words involving this difference is small and that need not unnecessarily disturb us. The main difference is of script, however. There is a tussle between Devanāgarī and Perso-Arabic. Under ordinary circumstances in a country, the former should have been given preference being the indigenous one, but situated as we are at present, the two will continue for a long time to come. The adoption of Roman is not practicable unless we suddenly develop an international outlook. Therefore, in teaching the *Umgangssprache*, for the present it should be left to the choice of the learner to have either Devanāgarī or Perso-Arabic.

Professor Chatterji put forward the suggestion that Bazar Hindī or Chaltū Hindī may be adopted as the *Verkehrssprache*. I am sure the Professor has seen the implications of his suggestions and will try to understand the sentiment of the Hindī people in this matter. If his suggestion is ever accepted by the people of areas where Hindī and its dialects are not the prevalent speech (since I concede that it is these people who should in the

main decide as to what they would have as their *Umjangssprache*) I hope the Hindī people will not be asked to forget some of the general (though inconvenient) features of their language in order to conform to the form prescribed for the inter-provincial contact. The question of *basic* Hindī, however, might be examined on its merits.

An eminent European authority, Professor F. W. Thomas, threw forward the suggestion that Sanskrit might once again be established as India's National Language. The proposition, howsoever attractive on sentimental grounds, is fantastic and thoroughly impracticable. A large section of our people object even to Sanskritised Hindī and it is not a section which we can ignore. But Sanskrit should have a necessary position in the scheme of our people's education. It has been the one source from which all Indian languages (including Dravidian) have been drawing vocables at all stages in the past, and an acquaintance with it, therefore, howsoever small, is sure to enrich the modern languages and help them to come into their own. So while I am in favour of giving Sanskrit a privileged position or even a compulsory position at the secondary stage in education, I am afraid even the suggestion to have Sanskrit as the common Indian National language (even in the modified form suggested by Professor Chatterji) is fraught with danger of increasing the volume of misunderstandings in our land.

I am sure the number of people who still cling to the idea that in this land only English or Sanskrit can be the *Kultursprache* is rapidly diminishing. English finds favour mostly with people who have been trained and even now live in the exclusive atmosphere imported from England, while Sanskrit is the be-all and end-all of some good old people of Benares. Neither of these two classes has ever cared to study any of the modern Indian languages. We should understand once and for all that it is not in our power to make the sun rise in the west; the light we have here will serve our purpose. Similarly, we cannot set the clock of time about 1500 years back.

SCRIPT

We have quite a number of scripts here, and naturally we cling to them. There are three main groups: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Perso-Arabic. While the last has one form, the two other groups have several independent forms. If it were possible to bring some of these forms together it would be a great national gain. People of Hindustānī Central Provinces find it very convenient to learn Marāṭhī because its script is the same as that of Hindī. Similarly if Bengālī and Hindī had a common script, there would be more Hindī men understanding Bengālī and *vice versa*. An understanding between cousins makes the ties of affection strong. What I have spoken about certain Indo-Aryan languages is applicable to the several Dravidian languages amongst themselves. Difference of script accentuates difference of language. With this view I should discourage further separatist tendencies in the matter of

script. We, the people in the Hindī area, have gained considerably by giving up the employment of Kaithī and Mahājani scripts, and adopting Devanāgarī generally. I should appeal for efforts to bring about homogeneity in this respect and dissuade people who have fissiparous tendencies.

Lately there has again been some appeal for a more general use of Devanāgarī. It is already the script for Sanskrit, Marāṭhī and Hindī. I wish that in areas where Sanskrit is taught through non-Devanāgarī scripts, Devanāgarī be substituted as gradually or as soon as possible. If the periodical journals of various languages decide to devote a page or two to Devanāgarī in every issue, choosing to convey the best article or story through that medium also, it may have a good effect. Publishers who consider some of their publications to be of wide and general use throughout the country should publish them in Devanāgarī also. We may come closer and closer by these things which appear to be small but are of immense potentiality.

The movement for script-reform to suit the modern needs of the type-writer and the printing machine, should meet with the approval and help of all thinking men. As such the decision of the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan backed by the Marāṭhī Paṇṣad to make suitable reforms in the Devanāgarī script deserves commendation. The Perso-Arabic script used by Urdū, Pashto and Sindhī, while it has the advantage of speed, lacks several necessary characteristics of good script. If it adopts some reforms whereby the vowels may be marked clearly and one symbol represents one phoneme, it would lose at least some opposition that the Indian languages have against it.

There have been complaints that the output of literature in individual Indian languages has not been considerable even in this period of Indian renaissance, and that literature in certain branches of learning, such as modern sciences, is almost non-existent in most languages. The complaint is not wholly unjustified, but we have to thank our circumstances for this situation. We devote most of our energy to learning things through English; we, the upper thousands, have to think in English. How then could a Ramanujan or a Jagadish Chandra Bose enrich the indigenous languages? Not even the Indian nightingale chose to sing in Indian words. The example of Osmania University has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that once we make up our mind, literature in the various branches of modern science is sure to be produced. It is then only that the gulf between the upper thousands and the lower millions will have been bridged.

We have fine literature in all the principal modern languages in *bells-lettres*, in poetry, story, novel and drama, literature of a very high quality, of a standard which can compare with that of the well-known foreign languages. It is necessary to bring this to the notice of our own people in various provinces by translation and by Devanāgarī editions where possible.

Another thing that we need is critically prepared editions of works produced in the past centuries. Some editions were brought out by learned

societies in the past, and while in these one finds considerable improvement over their predecessors produced by individual editors or publishers, there is scope for further improvement. Too long have we laid emphasis on the *best* possible reading, it is time that we now arrived at the most *authoritative* reading. This can be done by men trained in collating manuscripts with a critical spirit, and, I believe, the University departments are the best place for such a work. Useful work in this direction in Hindi is being done at Allahabad under the able guidance of Dr. Dharendra Varma, thanks to a benefaction of Shri Raja Panna Lal Pitti of Hyderabad.

Another direction of desirable work is the search for manuscripts in every area. Commendable work in this sphere has been done in the United Provinces by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā. More efficient work will be possible only when we have *trained* researchers and have munificent grants either from the governments of the provinces and states or from magnates of wealth.

Indexes of individual authors may be taken up to pave the way for scientifically prepared lexicons. Mention in this connection should be made of the Index of the Rāmācaritamānasa prepared by Dr. Suryakant Shastri of Lahore. But while these lexicons may take time to produce, we may have practical grammars and practical dictionaries of a uniform type, as suggested by Dr. S. M. Katre. These will be of considerable use for learning the various languages.

The study of the modern Indian languages is desirable extensively and intensively, if the Indian nation is to come into its own. The entire surface of this earth is being shaken to-day by a world war, a war which can find its parallel not in any war of earlier times, but only in the deluge recorded by various religious texts. Let us hope that the human race will emerge stronger and chastened, that we shall have a world order in which all people of all countries will have an honourable place. Let us, therefore, with this hope prepare ourselves by replenishing our various literatures and creating for our languages a self-respect by which they may stand shoulder to shoulder with any other language of the world. There is no point of rivalry between the several Indian languages and we can all work on in a spirit of brotherliness and co-operation, we can pull together with the determination that we shall help one another and trample under our feet all forces that may be designed to divide and disrupt us.

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KANNADA SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY SRI. MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR, BANGALORE

Gentlemen,

My first duty at the present moment is to thank the friends to whom I owe the honour of being the president of the Kannada Section of this the Eleventh Oriental Conference. The fact of this selection was communicated to me nearly two years ago, but a man of the world learns to live from day to day, not from year to year, and it seemed to me then too early to make arrangements for a conference to come off so much later. I also had doubts whether I could fix a programme so much in advance. Curiously enough, as it happens now, those doubts were fully justified. By work which detains me in Bangalore, I am forced to be absent from this session. I get, therefore, the honour of being the president without any of its responsibilities. I sincerely regret inability to be present in person and trust you will forgive my absence and accept this address as the utmost contribution that I could make under the circumstances to the business of this section of the conference.

My sense of the honour implied in the nomination to this chair is really enhanced by the fact that my claims to the place are of the slenderest. I have made no such contribution to Kannada studies as you have a right to expect from one who would be your chairman. Like any one else who loves our land and its culture I have done occasional excursion into the literature and history of our people. As a student I learnt the science of language and felt attracted by the methods of investigations employed in that science. But my way in life did not lie in these realms of peace and turned to less fascinating fields. I could now and then cast a wistful look at one-time fellow-students working in these fields and earning distinction. For the rest I have had to mind other business employing what leisure I had in work in literature. Achievement in investigation of the sort that I should wish to have had to occupy this chair with any comfort has therefore not been possible to me. In that sense perhaps my delight in occupying the chair is deeper and more genuine than a savant's might have been. My attitude towards the contributions sent to this section is largely one of appreciation and not of criticism.

No gathering like this devoted to an Indian language can begin work this year without feeling the great loss that the provincial languages of India have suffered in the recent death of Rabindranath Tagore. The poet was a great champion of the vernaculars of India. Long ago he stated in his Remini-

scences that education is most fruitful when it is given through the mother tongue. "While all around us was the cry for English", he said, "my third brother kept us steadily to our Bengali course. To him in heaven my grateful reverence". Later he gave evidence before the Calcutta University Commission, advocating the adoption of the mother-tongues as languages of university instruction. It must be within the memory of all of you that when invited to address a convocation of the university of Calcutta a few years ago he spoke in Bengali. This is perhaps the solitary instance of a person addressing the convocation of one of our regular universities in the language of the people in preference to English. In this as in other things he showed a new way for the leaders of our land. It is true that many have not walked on the way but the credit for having shown that it is there is none the less for this reason. Rabindranath did not give much time to antiquarian investigation but in the little time that he did give to work of this sort he seems to have achieved results that won the admiration of distinguished workers in the field like Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasada Sastry. It is to be hoped that the prestige that Rabindranath's name brought to the provincial languages of India will bear more fruit in coming years and that our people will recognise more and more the importance of these languages as vehicles of expression for the whole of national life and not merely of instruction for the common people.

Let us acknowledge with gratitude what is being done for our branch of learning by governments and authorities in the Karnatak country. Of great importance among the tasks now on hand is the work on the English-Kannada Dictionary in progress under the auspices of the Mysore University. With Rajasevasakta Bellave Venkatanarayanappa whose reputation for indefatigable work and scrupulous attention to detail is known to all of us as Chief Editor, this great undertaking is now nearly one half accomplished. The Oriental Library, Mysore, is carrying on its usual work. Valuable work for popular culture is being done by the issue of small books on a wide range of subjects by the Mysore University under the Sir Puttanna Chetty endowment scheme. The Madras University is continuing its research department where at present Messrs : Mariyappa Bhatta and Sesha Iyengar are doing valuable work. The Bombay Government made some years ago a grant for the study of Kannada antiquities and for Kannada publication which is continuing. I understand that there are fellowships for Kannada studies in the Osmania University under whose wings we are holding this meeting. While we are truly thankful for what is being done, it would not, I believe, be improper to ask for something more. Considering the quantity of work that has to be done the number of people available purely for studies is very small. The regular staff of a college as it is now worked can give only a fraction of its time, if it can give even that, for the work of investigation. The junior members, besides, are paid so low that they cannot have even the ordinary equipment for scholarship without denying themselves the prime needs of life. I plead for more endowments which will pay students engaged in research and investigation, more staff in the Kannada department

in schools and colleges so that the professoriate might find relief from routine work and have leisure to devote to scholarly labour, and more pay for at any rate junior staff so as to save it from the need to look for addition to income from private tuition or other drudgery. The expense will not be prohibitive but the advantages would be manifest within a few years. I shall not elaborate the point but would urge that it would only be right for all of us, wherever we are, to make representations in this regard to those in authority.

A thing of the utmost importance awaiting to be done for our language as for other South Indian languages is a survey. We all know that Sir George Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India" embraced all the languages of India except those of the South. Sir George included some information about the five Dravidian languages in the Report of his survey. He did this by the way and we have to be grateful for such information as is available in his report. But he was at a great disadvantage in collecting this information. His Tamil was the Tamil found in Poona and his Kannada the Kannada of Belgaum. For other forms of Kannada he took the language spoken in the Bijapur district. Obviously these two languages could not find satisfactory representation in the lists of words that he made. One has only to run his eye over the list to feel that in many instances other words should have been given. The word for 'man' for example, is given as 'alu' for one language and 'manushya' for another. 'Alu' is available in Kannada also and with the same meaning. It was not within the purview of Sir George's survey to do more than preliminary spade work in regard to these languages. It seems to me that a survey of South Indian languages should have been undertaken long ago. For reasons which are no doubt sufficient from the point of view of administration the idea of such a survey is however nowhere within sight. This situation cannot be too deeply deplored by students of language. It is to be hoped that the progressive governments of South India among which is the government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam under whose auspices we are holding this gathering will take up this question at some early time and concert measures for a supplemental survey which will do for the Dravidian languages what Sir George Grierson's survey did for the other languages of India.

A survey such as the one I have suggested would embrace Dravidian dialects like the Korama and Koracha languages which have not been examined so far. If a survey of the main languages of all these dialects in various centres is carried out we should be in a position to consider whether the genealogical tree for these languages given by Sir George Grierson requires any modifications. Some years ago as part of my work in the census department, I prepared statements showing Korama, Koracha, Tulu and Coorg words for the standard list given by Sir George Grierson and also versions of the passages which he has given for other languages in these dialects. I have not been able to verify the lists by referring to some more speakers of these dialects and so have not been able to publish them. I hope to be able to do this shortly and be of some help to students of linguistics.

A student of South Indian languages is today working under other handicaps just as fatal to good work. His first great difficulty is the inaccessibility of the literature on the subject. The first book to which he is asked to turn is the comparative grammar of Dravidian languages by Bishop Caldwell. Next comes the volume of Grierson's survey dealing with Dravidian languages. We have then a third treatise meant for the use of college students prepared by the university of Mysore and the summary of the lectures delivered by Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimbacharya as Reader in the Mysore and Madras Universities. A book by Dr. Ramakrishna Rao and another by Dr. Narayana Rao make up nearly all that is available in the way of books for the study of Kannada. Students are referred to a great deal of other writing that is not always available even in college libraries. It seems to me necessary to make lists of writing of this kind, circulate and make them exhaustive and print them so as to be available to all investigators. If such a thing were possible I should suggest that all such matter should be gathered together and reprinted in a volume or two and copies kept in school and college libraries so as to make studies in language easy and less forbidding. I am not proposing scholarship made easy. A good part of a student's time is now spent in investigating where a particular book or article is available and this no doubt adds to his credit for devotion and persistence when he achieves something. But it is quite certain that this is not what makes scholarship worthwhile. A poem is not more meritorious because you have to look for the pen and reach for the ink with which you write it; a paper is not more valuable because you have to go for the reference required to different places. Libraries which make reference books more easily available would release the energy of investigators now wasted on search for authorities for employment on more fruitful purposes.

I spoke of research and investigation as belonging to realms of peace. It is perhaps necessary for all of us to bear in mind that it is our business to maintain the peace of this realm. Fortunately in most cases this is borne in mind but it is also forgotten some times, as for example in a discussion that arose in learned circles in Kannada sometime ago whether the Sanskrit form of the name of the language should be ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ or ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ. It was carried on with so much heat by some of our friends that you might say that a battle raged over the question. To most of us it seemed that the question itself was not important enough. If it had to be discussed it could be discussed without any heat whatever. So far as I was concerned I was prepared to use either form or both forms and use them in the same sentence if necessary to show how little the quality or ಸ or ಾ affected me. Not that I was not interested in the scientific side of the proposition. What exactly is the way in which this Sanskrit form came into existence? Did it start as a Sanskrit word or was it the Sanskrit of a form in use in the language before Sanskrit thought of using it? If it was a Sanskritised form of an earlier Kannada word what in all likelihood was that word? Purely from the scientific point of view these are as good questions as any others to which we can devote our energies. But if the

questions are taken as implying the prestige either of Kannada or of Sanskrit we are surely going astray. Supposing the word is a Sanskritised form of a previous Kannada form and the latter should be ण and not ञ what does Sanskrit lose and Kannada gain? On the contrary supposing that Sanskrit has always written the word with a ञ and not a ण what is the harm of continuing to use ञ instead of reverting to the ण which Kannada probably used in its own word? Would Kannada lose any prestige? Students of language have placed it on record that Sanskrit has been influenced by local languages. All of us know that the local languages have been influenced by Sanskrit. It is too late in the day to think of prestige as between two languages that have lived together so long. Sanskrit cannot now be treated as though it was the language of some outside people which was trying to oust a local language. Such prestige as it enjoyed as the common language for learned intercourse in India it has now, fortunately or unfortunately, lost. Today it is the ancient heritage in which some of the best men of all provinces of India recorded their thoughts in the past. Let us also remember that there was no Sanskrit speaking population apart from the population which spoke the local languages. The men who for centuries now have worked in Sanskrit have been men whose mother-tongue was one or another of the local languages. This is the case today. Those who stand up as protagonists of Sanskrit, saying that it is in danger, are children of the local languages. There is therefore no ground for lovers of local languages fearing Sanskrit or lovers of Sanskrit fearing the local languages. The local languages would lose greatly if they did not make use of Sanskrit for their growth to meet modern needs. Even if they did not do this they could hardly get rid of all the words and forms which have come into them as a result of centuries of influence and contact. Not only is there no need for a feeling of rivalry between the local languages and Sanskrit; there is need for continued friendliness. This is necessary alike for retaining an inheritance and for progress.

The difficulty indeed arises from the fact that our attitude in these discussions is not sufficiently detached. If I were inclined to use words without considering how they would affect others, I would say that we start with preconceived notions. I wish specifically to avoid the phrase. But it is clear that we start with certain beliefs and chafe at anything that runs counter to such beliefs. It is the firm conviction of the orthodox Sanskritist that Sanskrit is the language of the Gods and the mother of all languages and that the vernaculars are either descendants or low languages. Sanskritists of this class will claim even that the languages of the West also are descended from Sanskrit. The information that modern linguistic science has placed at our disposal that words in Greek and Latin are allied to words in Sanskrit proves to this type of scholar not that the three are descended from some common parents but that Sanskrit is the parent and the other two are descended from it. It is claims on behalf of Sanskrit made in this tenor that lead to protests of the kind with which we are familiar at the present day

that the Dravida country should get rid of all Sanskrit influence. The proposal is a little difficult to understand from any point of view, but from the point of view of language would be utterly fantastic. Under other conditions we need not perhaps have taken such proposals more seriously than as indications of a certain amount of irritation. But in the present stage of our history these straws indicate not winds but coming storms. I would therefore plead with all who deal with languages to maintain the perfect poise of the sciences in their discussions. I would plead that propositions that seem to affect the prestige of languages or touch the emotions of their speakers should be put in as innocuous a form as possible so as to make it clear that what is being attempted is scientific investigation and not the establishment of claims to superiority or suggestion of inferiority.

A question in the discussion of which we have to be specially careful would seem to have been dealt with at some length at the last session of this section of the Oriental Conference by Rajasevasakta Professor B. M. Srikantia. The transactions have not yet been issued but the theme would seem to have been that Kannada preserved some elements as Tamil did others of an earlier form of speech from which both are descended. Foreign students of Tamil, from a study of composition in Tamil and Kannada or Telugu, are likely to conclude that Tamil uses much less Sanskrit than the other two languages and that its vocabulary is much more indigenous or Dravidian. This is possibly correct enough as a general statement, but not true to the extent which may appear at a superficial glance. In consequence of being farthest removed from the areas in which Sanskrit held sway the Tamil language was no doubt able to grow with the least effect from Sanskrit on its idiom and forms. But it was not the case that the life of its people was substantially different from the life of the people who lived in Kannada or Telugu lands, or that Sanskrit had less influence on that life. Where Telugu and Kannada use a word *ಜ್ಯೋತಿ* from Sanskrit just as it is, Tamil because of its alphabetical system and laws of pronunciation uses it as *ಶೋದಿ*. *ತೇಜ* similarly becomes *ತೇಶ*; *ಪೃಷ್ಠಿಕೇಶ* becomes *ವಿರುದಿ ಕೇಶನ್* and *ಶ್ರವಣಂ* becomes *ಶಿರು ಓಣವನ್*. Making allowances for transformation of this kind you will find that Tamil is not really as independent of Sanskrit as seems sometimes to be thought. Independent is perhaps not the word to be used in this connection for surely this is not a direction in which independence is a virtue? Why should a language propose not to use words from another language if the people of the two languages have come together and have lived as one people and built up one civilization? Tamil may have a smaller proportion of Sanskrit words in its best compositions than Telugu and Kannada but that is not because it taboos Sanskrit words. It has an option of using Sanskrit words also and is to this extent a richer and therefore a more flexible language. The great progress that Tamil has been able to make in journalism and in popular drama in recent decades is due to this quality of that language, its flexibility, and its power to adopt vocabulary from other languages when there is need.

From the point of view of good neighbourliness I would deplore the kind of discussion that arose in the course of the year about the language to be used in music in the Tamil country. The subject itself may not seem quite germane to a section that studies our language. It is however not so foreign after all as the system of music about which the controversy has arisen is called Karnatak. If one might be humorous for a moment, what has caused dissatisfaction in some circles would seem to be that Tamil singers of Karnatak music use Telugu songs. It is proposed that Tamil singers should as far as possible use Tamil songs. I do hope that no one is going to suggest that the school of music should be called by some name other than Karnatak. For on the analogy of the previous proposition Tamil musicians should use only Tamil music. No one has made this proposition and I am not making it seriously. We know that there is excellent Tamil music as there is excellent Kannada music. The people in each locality are naturally familiar with songs in their own languages and would understand them easier. A Kannada or Tamil man in hearing a song in Kannada or Tamil words would get the meaning as well as the tune and to the extent to which comprehension of meaning would heighten emotional experience, he would derive more joy in listening to the music. But as our music has developed, Thyagaraja belongs as much to Tamil and Kannada as he does to Telugu. His songs have been so often sung to audiences in Tamil and Kannada countries that, in all the centres where they are sung at all now, the population has a general idea of what the words mean. At the worst it has benefited from the music without troubling its head about the meaning. Who shall say that Kannada songs should be written for Kannada people in place of these or to be preferred to these? Let us use the fact that our peoples have accepted Thyagaraja for spreading a knowledge of the songs in the neighbouring provinces. No Tamilian should be ignorant of Kannada or Telugu or Malayalam; in any case, of the meaning of the words in the songs that he hears of these languages. Similarly with Kannada and Telugu and Malayalam people. Let us widen common interests rather than try to narrow them. Whatever circumstance our history has given to us as inheritance or our present conditions impose on us as a necessity should be used by us for bringing about the unity of our people rather than for division.

To promote such good feeling we need perhaps an Indian Academy of arts and letters such as has been proposed by Mr. D. Visweswara Rao of Andhra. Other devotees of art seem to have made this proposal previously and the Oriental Conference in its Travancore session adopted a resolution that there was need for such an Academy. There are so many languages in our country in which literary activity is going on at present that it is desirable to have an institution which would connect them up and bring the workers of the various parts of India together for common objects. As things are, a writer in the Kannada country knows rarely more than one or two names of the most talked-of workers in Hindi or Bengali and when he knows the names it does not mean he knows the work. Whatever may have been the

case in the past and whatever future our destiny may have in store for us the population of India today feels that it inhabits one country. To the extent possible such a people should be aware of what is happening in all the languages of the country. This is sufficient justification for the suggestion that there should be an all-India centre for arts and letters. What the functions of such a centre should be would perhaps be open to more controversy. Should an Academy of the kind have a limited number of seats to be filled by election by the various provinces in proportion to their literary importance, vacancies later on being filled up in the same way? Would the institution make awards in recognition of good work year after year, acting more or less as a supreme court of appreciation and criticism or would it be just a permanent body of savants and students corresponding to the Oriental Conference? Would it in that case consist of members selected not with reference to areas and populations but the branches of learning and the people who have done most significant work in each? If the institution is to work satisfactorily as a court of appreciation and criticism, would it not be hazardous, for some years at any rate, to think of awards and recognition that might develop a spirit of competition and rivalry and unhealthy feelings as between province and province and even within a province? There is at present our Academy for Kannada in Bangalore. I believe there is an academy of the same sort for Bengal. Conferences have been held in other languages though it does not appear that there are permanent academies in those cases also. For a beginning perhaps the various languages may organise institutions which will act as permanent centres for bringing together workers in arts and letters and we might have a federation of *parishats* with a central body which will have representatives from the various *parishats* and act in concert in matters of common interest. These are all suggestions for consideration. It seems to me that the matter is of sufficient importance for engaging some of our time at this session of our section. I propose therefore that if you approve a portion of our time be allotted for a symposium and that as many members as possible may take part in the discussion and help the section to clear the points that arise in this connection.

I shall now place before you a few notes I have made from time to time about words and forms in Kannada. If I had made some use of the time that was given to me I should have been able to place conclusions before you. As it is I can only submit these notes and invite discussion.

I would in the first instance submit that for a proper study of the linguistics of any language and of Kannada as a language we should go to the language as it lives on the tongues of the people. Take the word written as ಪಲ್ಲ in all our books. If we heard how the people speak the word we find that they are in actual fact using the word also as ಪಲ್ಲ. This is not merely in the area which is close to the Tamil country and in which you might suspect Tamil influence. I have heard this word in villages near Tumkur. Obviously written ಪ is also spoken ಪ in Kannada as it is in Tamil, if indeed

it is not merely a case of ಷ being written to represent a sound which is very like ಶ and nearer to ಶ than to ಷ. Many a form in the spoken language is really nearer the correct form than that written in literature. I shall illustrate this proposition presently, but shall say here merely that we have to set on foot a survey of dialects in Kannada making if necessary phonographic records. Many propositions which we now make about the relationships between the various languages of the Dravida country would require modifications and provisos when we have done this as a preliminary to the study of sounds and forms.

I believe that a survey somewhat on these lines was begun under the auspices of the Mysore University sometime ago. I do not know exactly what progress was made but it is to be hoped that it will be continued and the material collected made available to students.

The sound which resembles ಶ but is written as ಷ in Kannada is in reality one of many such sounds which are intermediate between the sounds of two symbols used in script. ಶ is apparently a Sanskrit symbol which has come to us with the Sanskrit alphabet. As ಚಿಲ್ಲಾ or ಶಿಲ್ಲಾ is pure Kannada the ಷ or ಶ was represented in writing by the Kannada symbol rather than the Sanskrit symbol. If our forefathers had attempted accuracy in this point as they did with some other sounds we should have had a second ಶ in this case as we had ರಳ and ರಾಳ. When a Tamil man utters the word ರಾಮ as the subject of a verb he produces the remnant of a nasal half sound after ರಾಮ. Even the Kannada man does this though somewhat less and apparently did it more fully once. This half sound was represented in writing by ನ. It became ಢ or ನ when the noun was inflected for other cases. It should have become usual later to show ನ with the ರಾಮನ, the same symbol doing duty for both consonants N and M. The man who read the symbol read it more often as if the ರಾಮನ represented ರಾಮ. Men later had to question why this ರಾಮ became ನ and now there is a good deal of discussion about this phenomenon in our grammars. Much of it would become unnecessary if we remember that we should deal with spoken sounds and not with written sounds and in dealing with the written sounds remember the intermediate sounds. The point might be emphasised by another example. Take the word written as ಪಾವು which in Tamil is ಪಾವು. Though Tamil shows a half consonant M in the middle of the word it is really a half sound and though Kannada does not show it in the script it is distinctly audible when people use the word ಪಾವು. It is the same sound that in Telugu appears as ಮ. The intermediate sound which becomes mb in Tamil, v in Kannada and m in Telugu is by no means obsolete. Another point which the study of this word would bring out is that the final sound in the Tamil form is not as is generally supposed the sound ಉ. It is, again, really a half sound. ಉ is written merely to avoid the use of another symbol but no one ever reads the ಉ as a full ಉ. If we bore this in mind we could not make such a statement as that Kumarila Bhatta gave the words ಶೋರು, ಪಾವು and ಮುರು as ಶೋರ, ಪಾವ and ಮೈರ without the final ಉ and that

this is perhaps due to his insufficient acquaintance with the Tamil language. The form given by Kumarila Bhatta is certainly as correct as the form with the final ಁ. It is perhaps more correct if it is to represent the word-root. It would be easy to multiply instances that would illustrate this proposition. All that I wish to urge is that in all cases in which we think of sounds having evolved into one thing or another in the various languages we should remember that we discuss the spoken language and not the written language; and that in the spoken language we frequently have even now, and doubtless had in a larger measure in the past, sounds that are intermediate between those represented by our symbols, and that we should study these intermediate sounds and not the full sounds represented by the symbols only in the writing.

A study of the spoken rather than the written language might if it extends to idiom lead us to modify some present views about the grammar of forms like *krithavan* and *droshyasi* or *kartasmi* in Sanskrit being the result of Dravidian influence. The former we are told cannot be derived by the laws enunciated in grammar. It looks like ಕೃತಿವನ್ of Tamil (ಕೃತಿವನ್ in Kannada) and has been taken as in all likelihood the result of the writer in Sanskrit following the idiom of a Dravidian language much as an Indian writing English today might import into English a construction with which he is familiar in his Indian mother-tongue. I do not know Sanskrit grammar but cannot help asking if *krithavan* is not after all only a normal form with *kritha* used as a noun equivalent to "the done." ಅಕ್ಕತೆ is a noun as well as a participle and the use of the past participle or adjective in place of the noun is nothing unfamiliar in languages. It is quite possible that the Sanskritist was using *kritha* as noun following this law of idiom rather than building on the analogy of a Dravidian form. What is the grammar of 'buy British' 'buy Indian?' As regards ಕಂಡಾಸ್ತಿ or ದೃಷ್ಟಾಸ್ತಿ the position seems even simpler. "You have seen" for "you will see" in the sense that the seeing is certain and will occur very soon is a common enough form of statement. Why should not Sanskrit have evolved it from within as a Dravidian language did? Idiom follows laws more universal than those of grammatical form and when a particular word or construction can be explained by a law which is common to two languages, it seems unnecessary to invoke the forms in one language to explain those in another.

It seems to be the accepted view now that Kannada has passed through three stages which are called old, middle and modern Kannada. I would submit that the position requires re-examination. That there were at one stage in Kannada forms like ಬಂದಾನ್ and ಸಂದಾನ್ is clear enough. That stage of the language is not available to us now except in a very few passages. The Kannada, apart from these passages, that is available to us is in a style that is essentially not different from the Kannada in use today. Some forms used in writing of the 10th and 11th centuries are not in use now and a few letters which to the mind of the common man made a distinction without a difference

have gone out of use. But the Kannada in writing today is not more different from the Kannada of Pampa and Ranna than the English of today from the English of Shakespeare and Marlowe. It seems therefore unnecessary to speak even of Pampa's Kannada as ಹಳಗನ್ನಡ and of present day Kannada as ಹೊಸ ಕನ್ನಡ. Written language always keeps some forms which the spoken language does not employ. Euphonic composition in Kannada has always required and still requires the employment of forms in verse which would not be used in prose. Each language has its own genius and this is the genius of Kannada. To deny this fact and base upon a few differences in form and alphabet a theory of several stages in the language seems to be unsound. The idea would seem to have started from a sense of analogy in that English has three stages, old, middle and modern. It is perhaps even now entertained from the same sense of analogy. One has only to examine the extent of change from old to middle and middle to modern English to see how small in proportion is the change in the case of Kannada from Pampa to the present day.

I urge this view because the cry might otherwise be raised that what are called old forms and old words should go. If as I have suggested above it is the genius of the language to have words and forms in verse composition which prose does not employ why should any one wish to change it? That would be to impoverish the language. To adopt only the forms in use in the spoken language in verse as in prose would not only banish forms which the genius of the language has always entertained as natural but to enforce cacophony in composition for which there would be no justification whatever. Indeed what we now require is work in the contrary direction and this particularly in regard to vocabulary. Many a word that was current once has gone out of use now. We find such words in the spoken language of sections of the people and we find them in books. Such words have to be brought into daily use. ಪಾನ್ and ಪೈಗು are supposed to be extinct words which we meet only in books but they are sometimes heard on the tongues of the people. These and a hundred other words ought to be brought into the stream of common speech. I have heard a word ಬರವು in the sense of the 'incoming quantity' and ಒಡವು in the sense of breach, and ದುಡುಕು in the sense of wobble, in the speech of the people. The number of words in use in our books but not in daily speech is a legion. We have to retrieve all such words and bring them into common use. Meaning would have to be retrieved in some cases in which the word is in use with only a part of its proper significance. ಎಣೆ for example, means not only equal but pair, just like ಜೊತೆ; but only the first half of the meaning is now current. It would enhance the possibilities of graceful expression to have more of these words with more significance.

We have, in short, to study our word roots more intensely. Many a word that we have learnt to think of as one is really a combination of words. ಎಣ್ಣೆ is a well known example of this fact. We have similarly ಪತ್ತಿರ and ಇರುಳ್.

That ಇರ್ means night would appear from the word root in ಇಬ್ಬಿ, ಇರುಳ್ means 'in the night'; that ಉಳ್ similarly is a combination with other roots in ಮುರುಳ್, ಕರುಳ್ seems clear enough. This very likely is the case with ಹುರುಳ್, ತಿರುಳ್ and ಕುರುಳ್. This is worth examination. That ಅ, ಇ, ಉ and ಎ had specific significance appears from the words ಅವನ್, ಇವನ್, ಉವನ್, ಎವನ್ where they are found in combination with ಅನ್ to give different meanings. ನ್ and ಳ್ similarly would seem to have indicated male and female. ಅನ್ and ಅಳ್, the latter meaning female, support this view. The original significance of ತ್ from which came ತಾ, ತನ್ನ etc., and the sounds which started our pronouns and the way they have developed require further study. So too particles like ತು, ದು which would seem to have become ಇತು, ಇದು only for convenience of pronunciation. The way in which in some cases, Kannada has retained the hard sound and developed it also to the soft sound to have two words for two functions is worth study: ಬೆಳಕು being light, ಬೆಳಗು being dawn, from the word to brighten; ಕುರಿ (verb) ಗುರಿ (noun); ಕೊಟ್ಟಿ, ಗೊಡೆ, ಕೊಟ್ಟಿಗೊಡೆ like ಬಟ್ಟೆದು (ಬೈತು) is a combination of two words which in origin are the same but have developed different meanings.

A direction in which study is called for is the examination of the vocabulary of our language and of names of people and places with a view to make a tracing of our faiths and beliefs. Our word for God now is ದೇವರು from Sanskrit. It is significant that a variant of the word is used to denote a devil. ದೇವರು is plural in form for honour but singular in meaning. We are told that Tamil has an indigenous word to denote God. This is not said of Kannada. What word in old Kannada would represent God and whether ಜೆಮ್ಮ is that word is worth examination. The name ಎಲ್ಲಕ್ಕು or ಎಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ would indicate that our people conceived of God as the all-inclusive one. The name ಕಲ್ಲ would indicate either that God was thought of as the unshakeable or immovable and ಗುಂಡ as a round and complete one. ಪಲಸಂಗ and ಉಚ್ಚಂಗ indicate belief in God's interest in many things and his being the Manifest One. It has been said that the Dravidians had no word for 'heaven' and 'hell' and that they as a rule did not know hell. Whatever the truth of this in the past we have it all right now. Of place names I made a very short study in lectures delivered in Madras in 1927. I notice that Dr. A. N. Narasimhiah read a paper on that subject at the Trivandrum session of this conference and know that Mr. Bengeri of Haveri has been studying place names for some time. Material has perhaps been collected by other friends. We have to publish the results of our investigations and help progress in the study of the subject.

We have also to recast some of our rules of grammar. No Kannada man says ಕುರಿಗಳು ಬಂದವು or ಕುರಿಗಳನ್ನು ತಂದರು. We are likely to think that ಬಂದಿ in ನೀನು ಬಂದಿ is a colloquial form for ಬಂದೆ. It is perhaps as correct as ಬಂದೆ if not more. Grammar in the sense of the laws underlying correct speech is of course coeval with speech but not the books of grammar. These came later and are necessarily empirical. Kesiraja made propositions based on the Kannada he knew and that is all that the best grammarian could do. As knowledge

increases we have to test the validity of rules enunciated by earlier grammarians. The old way of deriving the word ಅಂಕು is a classic example of the empiricism of the makers of grammar—the books. Today we are saying that ಅಂಕು is ಅಂಕ + ಕು. Whether the first half is not ಅಂ (the root in the word ಅಂದ) is a matter for examination. Mr. Raghavachar is reading a paper at this gathering on this and some connected matters. All lovers of Kannada should welcome discussion on this topic.

I know that those of us who are inclined to be conservative distrust all such proposals. I too fear any tendency to establish propositions in a hurry. But freedom in speculation and caution in conclusion are the essence of sound investigation in this as in any other field. Let, also, no one distrust the new methods of investigation because they came from the West. There was in our country for some time a tendency to swear wholly by what are called western methods. Macaulay laid the foundation for the contempt of eastern methods which this implied and we added the super-structure. We seem to be swinging to the other extreme now. But is there in reality a western method different from the eastern? Those who praise what is called the eastern method suggest that it is deeper or more exhaustive than the western. It is true also that there is an impression of depth and exhaustiveness about the manner of our old learning. When the exponent of a subject repeats an article from what corresponds to a dictionary about a word or participle, "how learned he is," we say, "he repeats the whole thing." This power of memory was necessary for deep scholarship in the old days. Today with reference books produced on a sufficiently large scale for most people who care for scholarship to be able to own copies, it seems not necessary. I am not pleading for shallowness in studies. But I do suggest that it is enough if the scholar knows the substance of what he is talking about and can give the reference to the exact words in case of need. Even western scholarship does not pass the test when it does not reach this level. As regards the features of western indology which our people may hold as defects the complaint refers apparently not to method but to the spirit in which the method was applied. The western student of the texts we hold sacred often expressed himself in language that struck their Indian lover as disrespectful. He discussed Rama and Sita in a spirit of detachment that seemed merciless. He compared Indian classics with Greek or Latin classics in a spirit of manifest partiality and assigned the Indian work second best place. All this where it existed was the fault of attitude and not of method. Methods in indologist investigation cannot change in value with the side of the Suez Canal. The reaction from complete acceptance of western outlook should not affect our practice of the methods of sound investigation brought into use by savants from the west. If we discount any conclusion of a western scholar let it be because of the wrong attitude. In indologists of our own country let us not condemn method merely because it is the method of a western scholar.

I find I have some other notes still but shall not weary you with them at present. This address is already too long and I do not propose

to take more of your time. I shall, however, with your leave, place on record my testament of faith in regard to the study of words. This study is not to be treated as proper only to the antiquarian or the grammarian. No one who wishes to use language effectively can ignore this investigation altogether. A man who is taught to use a rifle is taught also to take it to pieces and put it together again and keep it clean. There is marksmanship in the use of words as accurate as that of a rifle and we do not attain it unless we know how a word is formed, what its meaning was at the start, how it developed and what it is today. In marksmanship in the use of language there is a joy, there is an elation, as real as that of hitting the bull's-eye with a rifle. Quite apart from this joy but equally fruitful is the insight into the laws of thought which the examination of words can give and the sense of wonder with which that insight fills the student. As Kalidasa said, follow any stream home, you reach the open sea ; follow any study home and you touch the source of knowledge. I hold in high reverence the man who settles "hoti's business and properly bases own and gives the doctrine of the enclitic de dead from the waist down." His state is gracious and his place is on the heights. Like the mother who sees in the little mouth of her child all the seven worlds, the student of language sees in roots and particles of words the mystery of the miracle we call speech. Like the scientist who looks intently at an atom and finds that it is a solar system, or the poet who sees the universe in a grain of sand or heaven in a wild flower the grammarian realises the highest truths from devotion to ಡುಕ್ಕುಂಕರಣ. While I object to tyranny of every sort including the tyranny of unsound grammar I shall always be a humble disciple of him who takes the trouble to ascertain and expound the verities of language and the laws of speech.

And now, gentlemen, I beg that you begin the work of this session : and, as I shall not be sharing in the discussions nor be present to make any remarks in conclusion, may I say how happy I am that we have received for this session such a large number of papers and on such a variety of subjects ? Our labourers are not always held worthy of their hire. That yet so many come forward to toil shows how deep is their love of the language and their joy in work. May the light which lures men to such work fill our lives with a sense of achievement. ತೇಜಸ್ವಿ ನಾನಧೀತಮಸ್ತು : ಮಾವಿದ್ವಿ ಜ್ಞಾನಶಕ್ಯ.

اور ایک سچا متن پیش کرنے کی حد بھر کوشش کی جائے۔ نسخوں کے اختلافات احتیاط سے اور خوب جانچ پرکھ کر قلمبند کیے جائیں، ضروری تشریحات مختصر اور جامع و مانع لفظوں میں لکھ کر کتاب میں شامل کی جائیں۔ اس صورت سے ہماری تمام مستند کتابوں کا ترتیب پا جانا نہایت ضروری ہے، تاکہ متذوں کے ان مستند نسخوں سے تحقیقی کام کرنے والوں کو مدد ملے۔ کیا یہ افسوس اور ہمارے لیے شرم کی بات نہیں کہ ”میر“ ”سودا“ ”انیس“ تک کے دیوانوں کے متن ابھی تک اس صورت سے شائع نہیں ہوئے؟

(ب) مستند کتابوں کے نجوم بنانا جن سے ایک نظر میں معلوم کیا جاسکے کہ کس مصنف کے ہاں کون کون سے لفظ، اصطلاحیں، محاورے وغیرہ آئے ہیں؛ کن کن لوگوں، مقاموں وغیرہ کے نام آئے ہیں، اور ان سے کون شخص اور مقام مراد ہیں۔

(ج) ان لکھے ادب کے نمونوں کو جہاں تک ہوسکے تلاش کر کے جمع کرنا، جیسے کہیت، کہاوتیں، مثلیں، کہانیاں وغیرہ جو ابھی تک قلمبند نہیں ہوئی ہیں۔
خاص ادب اور اس کی تنقید کے کاموں میں زیادہ اہم یہ ہیں:—

(1) شاعروں، نثاروں، مورخوں، سوانح نگاروں اور اور پرانے اور نئے مصنفوں کی زندگی کے حالات جمع کرنا، اور ان کی تصنیف کی نوعیت اور خصوصیتوں سے اس طرح بحث کرنا کہ خوبیاں آجاکر ہوجائیں، کمزوریاں نظر سے اوجھل نہ رہیں۔ یہ کام بہت مشکل اور بڑی ذمہ داری کا ہے؛ اس لیے بڑی استعداد اور بہت احتیاط چاہتا ہے۔

(ب) ادب کے مختلف دوروں کی خصوصیتیں ہر دور کے صحیح حالات کی روشنی میں مشخص کرنا، ہر دور کے ادبی میلان اور اس کے اسباب اور نتائج سے بحث کرنا۔

جب تک ان تمام مباحثوں پر اچھے تحقیقی مقالے کثرت سے مہیا نہ ہوجائیں گے، اور نظام و نثر کی مستند کتابیں صحیح صورت میں موجود نہ ہوجائیں گی، ادبیات کی تاریخ نگاری کا مشکل کام کسی ایک اکیسے مصنف سے یا متعدد مصنفوں سے بھی سرانجام نہ ہوسکے گا۔

یہ تفصیل، جو میں نے آپ صاحبوں کی توجہ کے لیے بیان کی ہے، حقیقت میں ایک اجمال ہے جو بہت کچھ تشنہ ہے۔ کچھ تو وقت کی کمی کے خیال سے، اور کچھ اس قدر سے کہ میری زوایدہ بیانی نے اس اختصار کو اطناب نہ بنادیا ہو، اس تقریر کو ہمیں ختم کرنا ہوں اور جس نوازش سے آپ نے اسے سنا ہے اس کا شکر گزار ہوں۔

(ب) زبان کی صحت کا معیار ابھی تک ایک سیال حالت میں ہے۔ معیار کا معین اکوڑنا ممکن بھی نہیں، جب تک کہ اس سے متعلق سارے مسئلے ایک ایک کر کے سلجھانے لیسے جائیں۔

(ج) اور تو اور املا تک کے فاعدے مقرر نہیں۔ عوام کو جانے دیجئے؛ خود پڑھ کر لوگوں میں قدم قدم پر اختلاف ہے۔ ایک لفظ کو جناب شاعر ایک طرح سے لکھتے ہیں، حضرت مولانا دوسری وضع سے۔ ایک پرھانے والا یوں لکھتا ہے، دوسرا یوں ہدایت کرتا ہے۔

(د) ایک اور مسئلہ ہے، دخیل لفظوں کے تلفظ اور املا کا، کہ اس کی بھی یکسوئی ضروری ہے۔

(ه) مثنویات کی آندھی ابھی تک دفع نہیں ہوئی ہے۔ اس کا بھی وارا نیارا ہو جانا چاہیے۔

(و) عروض اور نافیہ سے متعلق بھی بہت کچھ کرنا ہے۔ عربی عروض اور قافیہ کی بنیاد پر کہاں تک عمارتیں اُٹھائی جائیں گی؟

۲ لغت کے اجزا اور ہر آن کے مختلف پہاڑوں پر سینکڑوں مفید مقالے لکھے جاسکتے ہیں۔

(1) لفظوں کی اصل اور ان کے اشتقاق، محاورے، بول چال، منہل، اصطلاحیں، تلمیحات، کنائے، استعارے، سب ایسی چیزیں ہیں، جن میں سے ہر ایک پر کئی کئی مقالوں کی بخوبی گنجائش ہے۔

(ب) مسند شاعروں کے کلام سے، نیز نثر کی کتابوں سے ایسے ایسے لفظوں، محاوروں، اصطلاحوں، مناو کو چھانت کر جمع کرنا، جن کو ہم بھولنے جاتے ہیں۔ یہ چیز خاص کر لغات کی تدوین میں کام دے گی۔

(ج) مقامی بولیوں کی تحقیق اس طرح ہوگی جات کہ ہر خطے، ہر ضلع کی بولی کی ندوی اور لغوی خصوصیتیں نظر کے سامنے آئیں؛ تاکہ دلی لکھنؤ کے "اختلاف" جن کا ہر طرف اب بھی جرجا ہے ان کی نبی حقیقت کھلے اور اردو کی اصل اور ابتدا کا بھی ٹھیک ٹھیک پنا جائے اور دکنی، اورنگ آبادی، گوجری، پنجابی کے متعلق جو بحث ہو کر رہ جاتی ہے، اس کا بھی آخر کار ایک فیصلہ کیا جاسکے؛ اور ہمیں معلوم ہو کہ ہم کہاں ہیں۔

جن لوگوں نے زبان اور ادب دونوں کے مسائل میں گہری نظر پیدا کر لی ہو ان کے کرنے کے کام یہ ہیں۔

(1) اردو نظم و نثر کی مسند کتابوں، خاص کر قدیم ادبی یادگاروں کو اشاعت کے لیے تیار (یا ایڈٹ) کرنا۔ اس کے یہ معنی نہیں کہ لکھائی جھٹائی اچھی، جلد رنگ برنگی ہو؛ بلکہ متن کے عمل (یعنی متن کے تیار کرے) کی خوبی اس میں ہے کہ متعدد نسخوں کا مقابلہ کر کے لکھائی تحقیق اور دیدہ ریزی سے اس کی تصحیح کی جائے

۱۔ زبان جاننے کے لیے دو چیزوں کا مطالعہ ضروری ہے: (۱) صرف نحو (۲) لغت۔ ان دونوں فنوں پر کتابیں موجود ہیں، لیکن وہ سب اس محدود نظر سے لکھی گئی ہیں کہ ایک خاص زمانے میں زبان جس صورت سے بولی جاتی ہے اس کا علم ان کتابوں کے پڑھنے سے آجائے۔ کہیں کہیں سو پچاس برائے لفظوں یا محاوروں وغیرہ کو سوسری طور پر مدیم یا متروک بتا کر ان کے استعمال نہ کرنے کی ہدایت کر دی گئی ہے اور بس۔ یہ صورت روزمرہ کی ضرورتوں کو تو کافی ہے مگر اعلیٰ علمی مقاصد کے لیے ناکافی، بلکہ بیشتر ناقص ہے۔ تحقیق کے لیے اس کی ضرورت ہے کہ زبان کے سارے عناصر کا مطالعہ تاریخی بنا پر کیا جائے اور منطقی یا فلسفیانہ طور پر نتیجے اخذ کیے جائیں۔ اسی کو لسانیات کہتے ہیں۔ میں نہیں کہنا کہ ہم میں سے ہر شخص اس فن کا ماہر ہو جائے، لیکن جب تک ہم میں ایک معقول تعداد اس کے جاننے والوں کی نہ ہو، زبان کو پوری طرح جاننے کے ذرائع مہیا نہ ہوسکیں گے۔ لسانیات کے تخصّص میں کئی فن ہیں، جن میں سے ہر فن کے ماہر ہم میں ضروری تعداد میں ہونے چاہئیں۔ بلاشبہ لسانیات ایک مشکل چیز ہے اور اس کے لیے ایک سے زیادہ زبانوں اور بہت سے علموں جیسے تاریخ، جغرافیا، عمرانیات، ادبیات، مذہبیات وغیرہ کے جاننے کی ضرورت ہے۔ اردو زبان کی ساخت اور ہیئت ایسی ہے کہ اس کے لیے ایک محقق کو فارسی اور بہا شا اور کسی قدر عربی، سنسکرت اور براکرتوں کا جاننا لازمی ہے۔ ساتھ ہی ساتھ ان زبانوں کے ادب کی طرف بھی توجہ لازم ہے۔

۲۔ ادب کے نقد و نظر کا کام جو لوگ اپنے ذہن ایذا جتا ہیں ان کو فارسی کے علاوہ ایک اور قدیم زبان (عربی یا سنسکرت یا کوئی اور) جاننا چاہیے۔ اردو کے علاوہ ہندوستان کی کسی جدید زبان کے ادب سے بھونی واقفیت پیدا کرنا ضروری ہے یا اس کی جگہ انگریزی کے علاوہ، کسی ایک جدید یورپی زبان کے ادب سے۔ ضرورت کے مطابق ایسے علوم و فنون سے بھی واقفیت پیدا کرنے کی فکر کرنا بڑے کی جوابدہ سے گہرا تعلق رکھنے ہیں۔

مجھے اُمید ہے کہ ہمارے نوجوان، مطالبات کی اس امبی فہرست کو دیکھ کر، مایوس نہ ہو جائیں گے۔ ہر چیز میں کمال حاصل کرنا مشکل ہے، مگر ساتھ ہی ساتھ انسانی قوتوں اور قابلیتوں میں بھی مشکلوں سے زور آزمائی کرنے کی ایسی زبردست اور ایسی تہاہ قدرت ہے جس کا صحیح اندازہ کرنا دشوار ہے۔ اگر ہمت اور شوق کو اپنا راہرو بنائیں تو مشکلیں آسان ہی نہیں ہو جائیں گی، بلکہ مسرت اور دلچسپی کا سرچشمہ بن جائیں گی۔ کمال کو حاصل کرنے کی پہلی منزلوں میں جتنی سرگرمی کو کام فرمائیے گا، اگے آنے والی منزلیں آسانی سے اور خوش گوار ہوتی جائیں گی۔

لسانیات کی شق میں ان چیزوں کی طرف خاص کر توجہ کرنے کی ضرورت ہے:۔

۱۔ صرف نحو کے بہت سے مسئلے تحقیق چاہتے ہیں اور جب تک یہ صاف نہ کرایے جائیں، اردو صرف نحو پر اچھی کتابوں کا ترتیب پانا ممکن نہیں۔

(۱) ایک نذکیر و تانیث ہی کی بحث ایسی اچھے کر رہ گئی ہے کہ اس میں اصولی حیثیت سے بہت کچھ تحقیق اور تنقید کی ضرورت ہے۔

جامعہ اعلیٰ کے قائم ہونے پر دور اندیشی سے دہلا کام نہ کنا گنا کم انگریزی سے ضروری درسی کتابوں کا ترجمہ اردو میں شروع کر دیا گیا اور نئی کتابیں درس میں جامعہ کے شعبہ تالیف و ترجمہ نے کئی سو کتابیں شائع کیں جن میں بشیر انگریزی کی مستند کتابوں کے ترجمہ اور کچھ اور زبانوں کے ترجمہ ہیں، اور پہلی سی کتابیں ایسی ہی اردو میں تالیف ہوئی ہیں۔ جامعہ اعلیٰ کی درسی ضرورتوں کو دورا کر کے ان کتابیں دہلا مطبوعات نے جامعہ کی شاندار کامیابی میں حصہ لیا ہے۔ ان میں سے اکثر کتابیں اگرچہ عام پڑھنے والوں کی دلچسپی کے دائرے سے باہر ہیں مگر دینی ورستوں کے طالب علموں کے سوا بھی جن لوگوں کو کسی علم کے مطالعے کا شوق ہو وہ ان سے بہت فائدہ اٹھا سکتے ہیں۔

جامعہ اعلیٰ دہلی کی ”اردو اکادمی“ نے عامی ضرورتوں کے ساتھ ساتھ عام ضرورتوں کی طرف زیادہ توجہ کی ہے اور علاوہ علمی کتابوں کے عام دلچسپی کی کتابیں اور انہوں کے کام کی کتابیں اچھی تعداد میں، سابقہ سے شائع کی ہیں، اور اس طرح اردو کے ادبی حوالے میں مفید اضافہ کیا ہے۔

ایک اور ادارہ جس کا شکر ہمیں ادا کرنا چاہیے، ”دار المصنفین“ اعظم گڑھ ہے، جو ہمارے ایک ماتم دار مصنف کی نسبت سے ”شہابی اکادمی“ کر کے مشہور ہے، اور جس نے اسلامی علوم اور اسلام کی تاریخ کی ساری ہی اچھی کتابیں لی ہیں، اور ہمارے محترم مولوی سند سلمان ندوی کی سرکردگی میں نہایت عمدہ سرمایہ اردو زبان میں مہیا کر رہا ہے۔ اس ادارے کا ماہنامہ رسالہ ”معارف“ مہل رسالہ ”اردو“ کے اپنے مددگار میں بے عدل ہے۔

رسالوں میں لاہور کے اورینٹل کالج کا رسالہ بھی ایک اہم شمار رکھتا ہے۔ اردو سے متعلق مضمونوں کی اس میں اس قدر کتب کتب ہیں؛ لیکن برویندر شہرائی کے محققانہ مقالے، اردو زبان اور ادب پر، جو اس میں شائع ہوتے رہے ہیں، اس کمی کی کافی سے زیادہ تلافی کرتے ہیں۔

اردو میں ایک ”دائرۂ معارف“ یا انسائیکلو پیڈیا کی تالیف کی بہت ضرورت ہے جس کا اظہار ملک میں بار بار کیا جا چکا ہے۔ شکر ہے کہ اس کی داغ بیل جامعہ اعلیٰ کے نمائندہ کے نوجوانوں کی ایک سرگرم جماعت نے ڈال دی ہے۔ اس عمدہ نکتہ کی تکمیل میں دیر ضرور لگے گی مگر ایسی تالیف کے لیے دیر ہی دیر ہے۔ اگر اس کا ایک ایک لفظ جانچ کر نہ لکھا جائے، نو ساری محنت کا رتب جائے گی۔ اسے اہم علمی کاموں میں محنت اور وقت کا بے دریغ صرف واجب ہے۔

تصانیف و تالیفات کا سوق ملک میں عام ہے، مگر پنجاب، اور حیدر آباد اس سوق میں سب سے آگے ہیں۔ سچ تو یہ ہے کہ پنجاب کو اردو کی مخلصانہ خدمت کرتے ہوئے سولرس کے اگ بھگ ہو گئے اور اس طویل مدت میں جس سووق اور استقلال سے اس زندہ دل خطے نے نہ صرف اپنے صوفے داکٹر سارے ملک کی علمی خدمت کی ہے اُس کا سر اردو بولنے والی قوم سے ادا نہیں ہو سکتا۔ یہ وہی پنجاب ہے جس نے اردو کو اقبال دیا۔

ELEVENTH ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

بڑھتی ہوئی تعداد کے ساتھ اُن کا معیار بھی روز بروز بادل بلند ہوتا جاتا ہے۔ اس سلسلے میں اردو ادب کی تاریخ کا بھی واحد مواد مہیا ہو گیا ہے۔ سائنس کے مضامین پر بھی انجمن کے متعدد کتابیں شائع کی ہیں، جن سے وہ لوگ بھی فائدہ اُٹھا سکتے ہیں جنہوں نے ان علوم کو سنبھالنا شروع نہیں کیا ہے۔ اُس کے ادبی رسالے ”اردو“ کے جو ایکسپرس سے جاری ہے، اپنے معیار کی بلندی اور مقالوں کی خوبی سے ملک میں عام طور پر ادب کا معیار بلند کر دیا ہے۔ اسی طرح اُس کا رسالہ ”سائنس“ جو اب بھی حیدرآباد سے اور جامعہ عثمانیہ کے سائنس دانوں کی نگرانی میں شائع ہوتا ہے، ایک نئے مفید مقصد کو پورا کر رہا ہے۔ یہ سب بدقسمت ہے انجمن کے اُن بھک اورے نفس معتمد اور ہمارے محدود ڈاکٹر موادی عدالت کی ہمہ اور حوش کا جس درجہ انوں کو بھی رشک ہے، اور رد و کار بھی خواہ جن کا مدح خواہ ہے۔

دینی رہنمائی کی جس تذلیل کا ذکر اوپر ہوا اُس میں اچھا خاصا حصہ ہندوستان کی یونیورسٹیوں کی غلط بنیادوں کا تھا۔ اعلیٰ تعلیم میں ملک کی کسی رہا کی کوئی جگہ نہ تھی۔ یہ اعلیٰ حضرت و مدرسہ سلطان العلوم خسرو دکن، حاکم الملک و سلطانہ کی عالم پرور، اور کیمیا اثر توجہ تھی، جس نے ملک کے دامن سے اس بدناما دھبے کے مٹانے کو سب سے پہلے ہاتھ بڑھایا، اور جامعہ عثمانیہ کا منارک بنیادی پتھر رکھا، وہ جامعہ عثمانیہ جس میں آج تینیس برس سے اردو زبان اونچے سے اونچے درجوں کی تعلیم کا ذریعہ ہے اور اُس کا شمار اُن مصموں میں ہے، جن میں فصاحت کی اعلیٰ سے اعلیٰ سند حاصل کی جاسکتی ہے۔ ادھر دس دہرہ برس میں ہندوستان کی بعضی اور یونیورسٹیوں کے بھی اردو کو ایک مستقل مصموں کی حیثیت دی، اور کچھ اور یونیورسٹیوں نے کسی نہ کسی صورت میں اُسے ہی۔ اے۔ اے۔ ایم۔ اے۔ کے نصاب میں جگہ دے دی ہے۔ مگر اسوس ہے کہ ہماری یونیورسٹیوں میں اب تک امتحان کا حرحا بہت ہے، کام کا کم۔ ”کام“ سے مبری مراد ہے تحفظی علمی کام، جسے لوگ ”ریسرچ“ کہتے ہیں۔ مقصد اُس طرح کے کام کا نہ ہے کہ جو طالب علم کسی فن کو تحقیق سے سیکھیں وہ خود اُس کے مطالب در علم اُٹھا سکیں۔ اُن کی تصدیق یا ناصح میں صاحب کی اندھاائی کوشش کی گئی ہو، حقائق کہی گئی ہو اُس میں سچائی ہو، گہرائی ہو، ہر بحث پر صحیح رج سے بحث کی گئی ہو، کوئی دعویٰ کے دلیل نہ ہو، اپنی بات کی بج نہ ہو، لغاطی نہ ہو۔ خاص کر اردو میں اس طرح کا کام کرنے کی بہت ضرورت ہے اور بہت امکانات ہیں۔ اسی قسم کے کام سے اردو زبان اور اردو ادب کو بقوت پہنچ سکتی ہے۔

ناوجود عام کم دوجہی کے اردو میں ادب کا دراز واقعی دھڑلہ جمع ہو گیا ہے۔ شخصی کوششوں اور متعدد اساعت خابوں کی کارگزاریوں سے اردو درھ والوں کے لیے نہ صرف سامعوں کے دیوان اور مصے کہانیوں کی کتابیں کثرت سے موجود ہیں، بلکہ مختلف عامی مصموں پر بھی کتابیں شائع ہونی رہی ہیں، جن میں بعض بہت بے حد فائدہ مند ہیں۔ گو اُن کی تعداد نسبتاً کم ہے۔ رسالے کثرت سے نکلتے ہیں، اخبار بھی ہیں۔

شعبہ اردو خطبہ صدارت ڈاکٹر عبدالستار صدیقی

صاحبو،

یہ بھی اچھی خاصی ایک کرہ کہ جہاں کہیں، حب کہیں، کوئی مجمع ہو، معاف فرمائے گا، چاہے وہ مجمع ”مجمع خلاف قانون“ ہی کہوں نہ ہو، اُس کا ایک صدر ضرور نامزد کیا جائے۔ اسی علم میں آج میں بھی یہاں نکڑا آیا ہوں، ورنہ اس خالص علمی جلسے میں، جہاں علم و فن کی ممتاز ہستیوں نے اُس میں منادِ خدایہ کے لیے جمع ہیں، آپ سب صاحب صدر ہیں۔ میزبانی میں ایک خادم کی ہے، اور خادم کو حکم بجالانے کے سوا چارہ نہیں۔ سرگرمی کے ساتھ کانفرنس کے حکم کی تعمیل کرنا ہوں؛ اردو زبان اور ادب کے متعلق اسے خیالات کو آپ کی روجہ اور عور، اور سب سے زیادہ، عمل کے لیے پیش کرنا ہوں۔

اس ہورے سے وہ میں اپنی گنجائش میں کہ اردو ادب کی تاریخ تو کیا، اُس کے موجودہ حالات ہی کا تصور کیا جاسکے، اور اس کی کچھ ایسی ضرورت بھی نہیں، اس لیے کہ یہ مراثی آپ کی نظر کے سامنے ہیں۔ صرف چند ضروری باتوں کا ذکر کروں گا۔ آج کل ساری دنیا میں جنگ کی نداء گاری کا بار بار گرم ہے۔ ہمارے بد نصیب ملک میں، مزید برآں، زبانوں کی لڑائی بھی ہے، جو آج ہی نہیں، مدتوں سے چھڑی ہوئی ہے۔ اس میں اردو کا نام بہت سنا جاتا ہے: مگر میں اس راگ کو نہ لاپوں گا، اس لیے کہ یہ حصہ ہے سیاسیات کے اکھاڑے کے پہلوانوں کا۔ اس دامناک فتنے کی بنا سراسر سیاسیات، اور ہمیں نداء کرے والی سیاسیات، پر ہے۔ کسی علمی مقصد سے اس ناگوار جھگڑے کو تعلق نہیں۔ یہاں ہمیں صرف اس بات پر غور کرنا ہے کہ اپنی علمی ضرورتوں کے لیے اردو والوں کو کتنا کرنا ہے اور اُس کی بددین کرنا ہے۔

ایک زمانہ ایسا گزرا ہے جب سارے ملک کی انہیں انگریزی زبان پر لگ گئی تھیں اور دیسی زبان، مہل ہر دیسی حلقے کے، حقیر اور حواہی دکھائی دینے لگی تھی۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ انگریزی عالم بائے ہوئے بوجھانوں میں، سب نہیں تو بہت سے اردو میں اپنا مطلب ادا کرے سے عاجز دکھائی دینے لگے۔ اُنسویں صدی عیسوی کے آخر میں یہ بد حالی ایسے اندہی نقطے پر پہنچ گئی تھی، اور اُس نے بعض متخاص ہندوؤں کو چونکا با اور اُنسویں صدی کے آغاز میں انہیں ترقی اردو کی نڈھال رکھی گئی۔ کئی برس تک انہیں کو سخت مشکلوں اور مابوسوں کا سامنا کرنا پڑا، مگر ہمت اور استقامت نے ان مشکلوں کو حل کر دیا۔ آج انہیں ترقی اردو ہمارے سرے کی اور مبارک بادی کی مستحق ہے کہ اُس نے پچھلے پچیس برس میں ایسی لگاتار کوشش سے ایک پیش ہا سلسلہ اچھی کتابوں کا، مختلف علمی مضمونوں پر، سامع کیا اور اُس کی مفید کتابوں کی

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